The Christian Century

PUBLISHED WEEKLY

Is Canada's Friendship Valuable?
An Editorial

The Douks Again!
By Marcus Bach

Liberals and Evanston
By Henry E. Kolbe

and a special section—

U.N.—Snare or Shield?

DECEMBER 16, 1953

In This Issue

Henry E. Kolbe

is professor of Christian ethics at Garrett Biblical Institute, Methodist graduate seminary adjoining Northwestern University at Evanston, Ill., where the Second Assembly of the World Council of Churches will be held next August. Dr. Kolbe began teaching at Earlham College in 1947. Later he transferred to DePauw. In both he was in the department of philosophy. He has been at Garrett since 1951.

Marcus Bach

is professor of religion at the State University of Iowa and associate director of the school of religion there. Recently he was awarded by the Iowa Library Association the Johnson Brigham memorial plaque as Iowa's outstanding author of the year. Dr. Bach has written many articles for The Christian Century. His books include *They Have Found a Faith* (1946), *Report to Protestants* (1948), *The Dream Gate* (1949) and *Strange Altars* (1953). He has also written many plays, including "Within These Walls," which deals with life in a Trappist monastery.

H. Ellis Plyler

interdenominational coordinator for Protestant rural church work in Puerto Rico, is substituting as staff correspondent while Hugh J. Williams is on furlough.

Harold E. Fey

executive editor of The Christian Century, continues his correspondence from the Near and Middle East.

'U.N.—Snare or Shield?'

Reprints of this special section are available. For prices and order blank see page 1483.

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The Christian Century

Established 1884, as *The Christian Oracle.*
Name changed to *The Christian Century* 1900.
Refounded 1908 by Charles Clayton Morrison and developed as an undenominational journal of religion.

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Entered as second-class matter February 28, 1902, at Chicago, Ill., under the act of March 3, 1879.

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Published weekly by Christian Century Foundation, 407 S. Dearborn Street, Chicago 5, Ill.

$6.50 a year. Canadian postage, 50 cents extra; foreign postage, $1.50 extra. Single copy, 20 cents.

The Christian Century is indexed in the *Reader's Guide to Periodical Literature* to be found in all libraries.

Coming Events

Dec. 16. Methodist Council of Secretaries, Chicago.
Dec. 20. Chicago Sunday Evening Club Choir Christmas concert.
Dec. 20. Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints Presentation of Handel's *Messiah*, C.B.S. network.
Dec. 25. Christmas Day.
Dec. 27. Chicago Sunday Evening Club: E. Stanley Jones, speaker.
Dec. 28-30. 8th Annual Anglican Seminary Conference, Austin, Tex.
Dec. 28-Jan. 2. Methodist Student Movement 5th Quadrennial Conference, Lawrence, Kan.; Newell S. Booth, Harold Ehrensperger, Nels F. S. Ferré, John O. Gross, Philippe Maury, Glenn Olds, Albert Outler, Ralph W. Sockman, Donald H. Tippett, speakers.
Dec. 29-Jan. 1. Presbyterian Church, U.S., 5th Quadrennial Youth Convention, Auburn, Ala.; James A. Jones, Kenneth Scott Latourette, John A. Mackay, Charles B. Templeton, speakers.
Jan. 3. Chicago Sunday Evening Club; Richard C. Raines, speaker.
Jan. 3-5. International Platform Association Washington Speakers Conference on Public Affairs, Washington, D. C.
Jan. 3-8. Religious Television Workshop (National Council of Churches Broadcasting and Film Commission, State and Local Councils), Cincinnati.
Jan. 3-10. Universal Week of Prayer.
Jan. 4-7. Presbyterian, U.S.A., National Commission on Evangelism, Buck Hill Falls, Pa.
Jan. 5. Institute for Religious and Social Studies, New York city; themes: "The Meaning of History," "Religion and Social Welfare," "New Horizons"; Thurston N. Davis, Catherine Lee Wahlstrom, Harold D. Lasswell, speakers.
Jan. 5-6. N.C.C. Broadcasting and Film Commission Annual Meeting, New York city.
Jan. 5-12. National Christian Teaching Mission (N.C.C. Joint Department of Evangelism), Spokane, Wash.
Jan. 10. Chicago Sunday Evening Club; Paul E. Scherer, speaker.
Jan. 12. Institute for Religious and Social Studies, New York city; themes: "The Meaning of History," "Religion and Social Welfare," "New Horizons"; Salo W. Baron, Otis R. Rice, Albert Hofstadter, speakers.
Jan. 13-25. Week of Prayer for Christian Unity.
Jan. 15. Religious Radio Institute (N.C.C. Broadcasting and Film Commission), Parkersburg, W. Va.
Jan. 17. Chicago Sunday Evening Club; Clark Kuebler, speaker.
Jan. 17-21. University Christian Mission (N.C.C. Joint Department of Evangelism), Eugene, Ore.
Jan. 17-23. Church and Economic Life Week (N.C.C. Department of Church and Economic Life).
Jan. 17-31. Evangelistic Mission (N.C.C. Joint Department of Evangelism), San Bernardino, Calif.
Jan. 18-19. Religious Television Institute (N.C.C. Broadcasting and Film Commission), Wheeling, W. Va.
Jan. 18-22. Emory University School of Theology 20th Annual Ministers' Week, Emory University, Ga.
Jan. 19. Institute for Religious and Social Studies, New York city; themes: "The Meaning of History," "Religion and Social Welfare," "New Horizons"; Abraham J. Heschel, Robert W. Spike, Robert Saudek, speakers.
Jan. 19-20. N.C.C. General Board Meeting, New York city.

(Announcements will be printed in this calendar as received, but must reach the editorial office at least three weeks in advance of the date mentioned.)

The Christian Century

UNDENOMINATIONAL

VOLUME LXX CHICAGO, DECEMBER 16, 1953 NUMBER 50

EDITORIAL

Thomas Curtis Clark: Good Comrade

AFTER many days of suffering, Thomas Curtis Clark, for 36 years an associate editor of The Christian Century, died on December 7. It is impossible to put into words the sorrow with which those who worked alongside him for so many years face the realization that he has gone. The same sorrow will, we know, be felt widely through American church life, for Thomas Curtis Clark had touched so many in so many ways that he had come to seem a friend to multitudes who knew him only as a name. There were years during which Mr. Clark comprised nearly the entire "staff" working with Charles Clayton Morrison in bringing this paper to its leadership as an undenominational journal. Later, he carried much of the responsibility for its news department. Still later, as poetry editor it was he who insured for that feature of the paper its acknowledged distinction. Along with his heavy responsibilities on the Century, he carried easily the managing editorship of the *Pulpit* and the editing of the *20th Century Quarterly*. During the years when that book publishing affiliate was active, Mr. Clark was an active partner in Willett, Clark and Company. Undoubtedly, however, he was known to more churchmen as the authentic poet who wrote so much of the truly lyric poetry of his generation, and as the anthologist whose choices showed such unerring judgment in the recognition of poetic worth. All these things will be recounted at length as others mark his passing. Here, writing under the immediate shock of the event, we remember more what a good comrade he was. Fair weather or foul, smooth passage or rough, it was good to have Tom Clark by one's side. And if it is the pure in heart who see God, then he stands now in the full light of the Throne.

Bermuda Conference Agrees To Talks with Russians

WEEKS WILL PASS before all that happened at the Bermuda conference becomes known. Indeed, much is likely to remain hidden until the memoirs of the participants reach the bookstalls. But one central decision has been announced. Britain, France and the United States have agreed that their foreign ministers shall meet with Mr. Molotov, presumably in Berlin, at an early date —sometime in January. This meeting of foreign ministers is to be without a previously limited agenda and is supposed to lay the groundwork for a later conference of the heads of state in which an effort would be made to settle most of the issues, west and east, between the communist and the free world. Throughout Britain and this country there is general skepticism regarding what the conference of foreign ministers will accomplish. However, it should at least bring into the open what Russia is willing to do to relieve, if not resolve, the international tension. Until this is known, the dangerous business of approving German rearmament can be held in abeyance—and that is another gain. On the prospects of the coming conference with Mr. Molotov we are neither optimistic nor pessimistic. But we regard the resumption of negotiations as the most fortunate thing that has happened since the imposition of the Berlin blockade touched off the cold war. While there's negotiation —however long, however exasperating, however fruitless —there's no shooting, and there's hope of a better day ahead.

Is McCarthy Coming Or Going?

PRESIDENT EISENHOWER and Secretary of State Dulles had all the better of their recent exchange with Senator McCarthy. The President warned the nation that the McCarthy conception of foreign policy takes no account of the profound truth that "the easiest thing to do with great power is to abuse it." This was accompanied by the sound political observation that "the efficiency and vision with which the government is administered by this Republican administration, and whether or not the Congress enacts a progressive, dynamic program enhancing the welfare of the people of our country, will determine the future political complexion of the Congress and the future of the administration." About all Senator McCarthy had to offer in reply was a protestation of his great respect for Eisenhower and Dulles. (Was the *Chicago Sun-Times* the only newspaper to point out the resemblance to the speech Shakespeare put in Mark Antony's mouth to rouse the Roman mob against Brutus and his friends—"all, all honorable men"?) At the end of his rejoinder the senator made what proved a political blunder, calling for a deluge of wires and letters to force the President to reverse Dulles' policy. The deluge never came. Even if McCarthy's own claims as to the number of telegrams are accepted, their importance lay in their skimpiness—less than 20,000. In his heyday Father Coughlin could bring an avalanche of a hundred thousand wires and letters down on Washington with a single sentence in a Sunday afternoon broadcast.

Perhaps Senator McCarthy is beginning to lose his appeal. It would be unwise, however, to reach that conclusion on the evidence now available. Next month regular McCarthy television broadcasts, financed by Texas oil millionaires, are to start. With such support, plus that of part of the press, the senator may be quite ready for battle against President Eisenhower, expecting defeat in the opening skirmishes, but looking toward capture of the Republican party in 1956 or 1960.

The Imperialist Stance Revived in Africa

BRITISH public opinion was not prepared for the sweeping victory won by the Nationalist Union party in the recent Sudan elections. The Nationalist Union party supported union, or at least a tie of some sort, with Egypt. The Umma party ostensibly supported independence, but in reality was suspected of favoring a quasi-independence with close British relations. Such British papers as are received in this office forecast a very close election, probably giving neither party a decisive advantage. Instead, the Sudanese voted overwhelmingly for the pro-Egypt ticket. In the light of Egypt's anything but impressive record in the Sudan, why this outcome? Partly, we are sure, it reflected Sudanese pride and belief in Egypt's revolution led by General Naguib, who has close Sudanese ties. But even more, it showed how widely Africans everywhere suspect and resent the methods of British colonial authorities in dealing with native affairs. Beginning with the enforced exile of Seretse Khama from Bechuanaland a couple of years ago, after that young Christian ruler had committed the indiscretion of marrying a white woman met while he was at Oxford, the British in one move after another have convinced the African tribesmen that the spirit of 19th century imperialism is reviving. The formation of the Central African Federation despite almost unanimous native opposition, the quick acquittal of British officers charged with indiscriminate killing in Kenya, the resort to armed action in Uganda with the exile of the Cambridge-educated Kabaka of Buganda, even the military suppression on the other side of the Atlantic of the elected (and non-Caucasian) government in British Guiana—all have fostered a resurgence of anti-British feeling. One thing hard to understand is that with such developments, there has been so little questioning of their justification or wisdom in labor and liberal circles in England.

New York's Highest Court Clears Road to Merger

ON December 3 the New York state court of appeals, in a 4-to-2 decision, ruled that the civil courts are without jurisdiction in the proposed union of the Congregational Christian and the Evangelical and Reformed churches. Thus the bitter legal battle moved another step toward conclusion. It may be that this verdict will prove the final one. The court of appeals is the highest bench in the New York state judiciary. The only appeal from its decision would be to the United States Supreme Court, and that tribunal may refuse another review. Should it do so, the legal aspects of the case will be settled—and we believe settled very wisely. It is by no means assured, however, that a legal verdict, even though it refuses to interfere in the action of the Congregational Christian General Council favoring union, will bring that union to pass. The lamentable truth is that the spiritual virtue has largely gone out of it. The members of the League to Uphold Congregational Principles can take what satisfaction they find possible in the fact that, though they have lost in the courts, they have succeeded in producing such a spirit of divisiveness within Congregationalism that the sense of being an articulated body is all but lost. James Hastings Nichols was not dealing with the proposed merger with the Evangelical and Reformed Church when he wrote his now famous article, "The Dilemma of the Free Church Liberal" in the September 23 issue of this paper. His thesis was summarily rejected by many Congregationalists. But the influence, actual rather than formal, of the L.U.C.P. shows that Dr. Nichols was considering something more than an academic argument. Back of the internal agitation that is stirring this denomination to its depths is the determination of some of its members, mainly laity with conservative social and political views, to destroy its claim to be a denomination and to establish that it can never be anything more than a loose congeries of autonomous local congregations. That is an issue which the Congregationalists need to settle among themselves and for themselves before they will make a success of union with other churches, no matter what the courts may rule.

Italian Protestants, Jehovah's Witnesses Win Court Cases

DECEMBER opened with notable decisions in two cases in which church groups appealed to the courts for redress. The supreme court of Italy reversed the conviction of five Protestant ministers who had been jailed for holding religious services in private homes in a town near Naples. According to the Italian police, under laws promulgated by Mussolini's fascist regime only such Protestant services as had been approved by the police could be held. The five ministers arrested—they were Pentecostals—appealed their convictions, unsuccessfully, to a provincial appeals court. But when the case finally reached the Italian supreme court, it ruled that the fascist regulations had been "automatically abrogated" by the guarantees of religious liberty in the constitution which Italy adopted in 1948. Italy's Protestants see in the supreme court's verdict their first promise of actual freedom since Mussolini made his cynical deal, involving the Lateran treaty, with the Vatican. At the same time, in Washington the U.S. Supreme Court was awarding another legal victory to Jehovah's Witnesses. By a 6-to-3 vote the court upheld the claim of a young Witness, George Lewis Dickinson of Coahugua, California, to draft classification IV-D, which provides the exemption given ministers. The tussle between the Witnesses and draft boards, which has sent thousands of Witnesses to prison as conscientious objectors, has been over the claim that all Witnesses are, in the eyes of their own sect, ministers. The Supreme Court, in the verdict written by Justice Tom C. Clark, did not allow this extreme claim. But it did grant that young Dickinson, as a "company servant" of a local group of Witnesses, was

performing religious duties sufficiently extensive to qualify him for exemption. In the course of its decision the Supreme Court virtually wrote a rough rule to guide draft boards when dealing with part-time church workers. If the claimant can show that he makes a "vocation" of preaching, and works at it as much as half-time, then the highest court holds that he has a good case against being called on for military service. Once more, it seems, the Witnesses have been the means of making some important church law.

Puerto Rican Freedom and U. S. Sovereignty

MORE FACTORS than came to the surface lay beneath the close vote by which the Assembly of the United Nations recognized that the people of Puerto Rico "have achieved a new constitutional status" and "effectively exercised their right to self-determination." To be sure, the vote released the United States from any further obligation to report on its administration of Puerto Rico to the U.N.—something for which we had asked. Why then did so many countries, including our own, either vote against the resolution or abstain from voting? Some nations voted adversely or abstained because they saw a chance to take another jab at the United States. Our opposition, however, was caused by an amendment which claimed that the U.N. should have the power of an impartial umpire to decide when a hitherto non-self-governing nation has attained self-government. The United States is too jealous of the rights of Congress—and too unwilling to have sleeping dogs stirred in that body—to admit that any outsider can have anything to say about our relations with our dependencies. This, it hardly needs to be explained, falls right in with the views of the colonial powers, which do not wish to have their dealings with dependencies reviewed by outside parties. But if the claims of subject peoples to be fit for freedom are to be judged only by their colonial overlords, the prospects for rapid advances toward independence are slim. This matter of the rights of colonial sovereignty versus the rights of aspiring peoples is something the U.N. will have to work out over the years. Another thing that the United States will have to work out, if Puerto Rico stays under our flag, is the constitutional nature of a "commonwealth." That is what Puerto Rico is—but what is it?

Cigarets and Cancer

QUITE a few churches expect their members to refrain from using tobacco. A few more require such abstinence from their clergy while leaving their laity free to do as they please. Frankly, we have never been able to work up much moral interest in the question, and have been puzzled at the reactions of those who can. To be sure, there is some slight toxic quality in tobacco, which of late has led to the ridiculous claims in much cigaret advertising regarding the comparative therapeutic values of various brands. But only a handful of church groups have pushed their opposition to tobacco as a drug to the logical end reached by the Mormons when they rule out coffee and tea as being likewise unnatural stimulants. So long as the use of tobacco did not drive many husbands to wife-beating, or their wives to selling the children's shoes for the price of another carton of Chesterfields, the whole subject has been one which seemed to fall into the "live and let live" category. Now, however, we begin to wonder. Certainly the results of the medical research reported at such length in the November 30 issue of *Time* are not to be brushed off as the press reports they were by the president of the American Tobacco company. When as eminent an authority as Dr. Cornelius P. Rhoads, research director of the great Memorial Center for Cancer and Allied Diseases in New York, says that "the underlying medical question is settled," by which he means it is settled that cigaret smoking can be a factor productive of types of lung cancer, a condition is disclosed of the utmost gravity. A few weeks ago (October 28) we reported the proposal by four eminent surgeons that tobacco companies finance research into the relation between smoking and lung cancer, and what can be done about it. So far, none of the companies has responded to that challenge. With this latest, apparently authoritative disclosure that cigaret smoking does cause cancer, there is a moral responsibility on the tobacco companies either to discover means whereby their product can be rendered harmless or to submit to social controls which will reduce its use to harmless proportions.

Augustana to Send African Delegate to Evanston

DELEGATIONS to the Evanston Assembly of the World Council of Churches are rapidly being appointed. Last week the four American Lutheran bodies which are members announced the names of their 22 representatives. Fourteen of them will be clergy and eight laity—not a bad division as such things go. But by far the most important news concerning the Lutheran list is that the Augustana church has selected as one of its lay delegates Solomon Eliufoo, treasurer of the Lutheran Church of Northern Tanganyika, Africa. Will any other church with overseas congregations show similar statesmanship? . . . The Heifer Project, originally launched by the Church of the Brethren, now a cooperative undertaking of eight Christian service groups, sent another plane loaded with 37,000 baby chicks to Egypt late last month. That makes more than 100,000 chicks sent to farmers along the Nile. . . . Georgia is making legislative motions toward adopting a constitutional amendment which would allow "citizens" to take over public schools and run them as a private enterprise in case the U.S. Supreme Court knocks out segregated schools. Methodist women, led by the Women's Society of Christian Service of the North Georgia conference, are leading the opposition to the proposed amendment. . . . The *China Bulletin* of the Far Eastern joint office of the National Council of Churches reports that an educational center to provide university training for 500,000 Chinese, with 30 institutions occupying an area about equal to two-thirds that of Peking, is being built outside that city. . . . Christian students in Egypt's government schools will hereafter be offered courses in Bible and Christian ethics taught by Christian, government-paid teachers. This is another change introduced by the Naguib govern-

ment. In the past, only Islamic studies have been permitted in Egypt's government institutions. . . . Three ministers in Westchester county, New York, have led the effort to change community sentiment in North Stamford, where Jackie Robinson, noted Negro ball-player, was refused permission to buy a home. . . . A Roman Catholic memorial church will be consecrated in Hiroshima, Japan, next August. About two-thirds of the cost, which with furnishings will be about $250,000, has been given by Catholics in this country and South America.

Is Canada's Friendship Worth Anything?

IN ALL the miserable Harry Dexter White case nothing has been worse handled than our relations with Canada. The fault does not lie with the state department or the White House. What mischief has been done has been the product of sensation-hungry newspapers and headline-hungry politicians who haven't cared a fig for what their reckless conduct might do to Canadian attitudes toward the United States. As a consequence, millions of Canadians have dismissed the issue of communist infiltration of government as of minor importance—or even a product of hysteria—while their indignation against this country has been stoked high by belief that the United States looks on its northern neighbor as a lackey to jump at the word of command.

I

For decades Canadians and Americans have prided themselves on the friendly relations between the two peoples. That unguarded border has figured in hundreds of self-congratulatory speeches; President Eisenhower boasted of it again in his recent speech before Canada's Parliament. Canadians and Americans alike have scarcely troubled to conceal their belief that if other nations were only wise enough to let Canadian-American relations be their model, international crises would soon be a thing of the past. Amid all the talk about the obligations of good neighborliness, the two peoples have rather complacently assumed that they provide the world's best working example.

Of late, however, there has been a distinct cooling off in the warmth of neighborly feeling north of the border. A succession of pinprick incidents, none of them of more than minor moment, but cumulatively productive of much irritation, has made many Canadians feel that their friendship is lightly valued by their powerful neighbor.

Canadian newspapers have reported a number of unfortunate incidents at immigration stations along the border, especially since the McCarran act went into effect. Belief has become widespread that the St. Lawrence seaway project, so important to the future of Canada's prairie provinces, has been subordinated to the narrowly conceived interests of U.S. railways and private power companies. Demands for higher tariffs to keep Canadian cereals and minerals out of the U.S. market have stirred bad feeling.

Now, on top of such irritation, has come the Gouzenko episode, so mishandled that Canadians of all parties regarded it as an attack on the character of one of their most respected government officials and an attempt to bludgeon their government into meek acquiescence in unreasonable American demands.

II

The Gouzenko incident started when the *Chicago Tribune* reported that one of its Canadian correspondents had learned, in an interview with Gouzenko, that he was anxious to supply information to the Jenner committee which would help that Senate agency uncover hitherto undetected communist spies working inside the American government. Gouzenko is the former clerk in the Russian embassy at Ottawa who gave the Canadian authorities the information which led to the discovery of the communist spy ring working in Canada, to the arrest and imprisonment of several of its members, and to opening the trail which finally led to the conviction of the master atomic-bomb spy, Professor Klaus Fuchs. Since making his disclosures seven years ago, Mr. Gouzenko has changed his name, has been granted Canadian citizenship, and is living incognito under police protection at an undisclosed place in Canada.

Unfortunately, the Canadian authorities messed up their first treatment of the *Tribune*'s story, which was immediately followed by a demand from the Jenner committee for an interview with the Russian refugee. Lester Pearson, Canada's minister for external affairs, stated that Gouzenko had been misquoted and, for that reason, the Canadian government did not intend to allow the Jenner committee to question him. The *Tribune* quickly proved that there had been no misquotation, and Mr. Pearson was accordingly left without his reason to forbid the questioning.

At this point the U.S. state department entered the case. It presented the request—not the demand—of the Jenner committee in proper diplomatic form, and the Canadian government acceded under certain conditions, designed to protect both Gouzenko's safety and its own control of Canadian internal affairs. Secretary Dulles at once acknowledged the legitimacy of these conditions, saying that they were precisely the conditions the U.S. government would impose should a similar episode occur in this country. The Jenner committee, after growling a bit for the benefit of the press, accepted the Canadian conditions, and an interview is supposedly now being arranged.

There is some doubt, by this time, what such an interview will contribute to the spy hunt now under way in Washington. Since his first sensational suggestions to the *Tribune,* Gouzenko has retreated from his claim that he has any new information to give which would identify uncovered spies. All his information of that nature, he now says, was given to the royal commission which investigated espionage in Canada in 1946. The Canadian press finds a natural amusement in pointing out that this testimony is all to be found in the 733-page report of that commission, on sale for a dollar, where the Gouzenko revelations are so thoroughly brought into the open that even an alleged spy whom the Jenner committee is still mysteriously referring to as "X" is identified by name and position. Mr. Gouzenko now says that all he has to offer the Jenner committee is some suggestions as to possible improvements in its methods of running down spies. He is probably not the only person

in North America who thinks he could help in that direction.

III

If this were the whole story of the Gouzenko affair, it could be dismissed as of passing moment. Neither the Jenner committee nor Mr. Pearson handled it well at the start, but both—greatly aided by the calm good sense of Mr. Dulles—worked it out to a responsible, and not unfriendly, conclusion. However, this unfortunately is not the whole story. For after Mr. Pearson had made his first comment, indicating that Canada was not going to allow the Jenner committee to question Gouzenko, both the *Tribune* and a writer in New York named Victor Lasky attacked Mr. Pearson personally and in such terms as to intimate that he was blocking the interrogation because he feared that Gouzenko might bare Mr. Pearson's own dealings with communist espionage agents. These slanderous intimations, which hinted that Mr. Pearson had been named as a communist accomplice in still secret testimony given by Elizabeth Bentley, ran through a considerable portion of this country's McCarthyite press.

By now it has been denied that any such testimony against Mr. Pearson was ever given by Miss Bentley or anyone else. And in Canada this attack served to touch off in Parliament and in the press a virtually unanimous demonstration of confidence in and respect for the maligned cabinet official. Mr. Pearson has thus emerged with a certificate of esteem which strengthens his political position at home and adds to his already high standing in international affairs. So far as he, personally, is concerned, good has undoubtedly come out of this evil.

Nevertheless, great and possibly lasting damage has been done to the friendship between the two countries. For it happens that Lester Pearson is held by most Canadians, regardless of party, to be just about the finest example their nation possesses of integrity and competence in the public service. Such an unprincipled attack as was made on him is accordingly resented as an indication of the readiness of powerful elements in this country to employ any means to gain their ends, without regard to the consequences for our neighboring nation.

In his condemnation of Senator McCarthy's radio and television attack on "the very heart of United States foreign policy," Secretary of State Dulles declared that this country, in its dealings with other countries, will "try not to be arrogant, or to demand of others what we ourselves, if circumstances were reversed, would reject." He recalled that when the grandfather after whom he is named, John W. Foster, was President Harrison's secretary of state, he said that our foreign policy had been marked by "a spirit of justice, forbearance and magnanimity." Mr. Dulles took his stand on that same platform: "I do not intend myself to mar that record." President Eisenhower backed him to the hilt.

The American people have, on the whole, responded with approval to Mr. Dulles' courageous restatement of the principles which govern our foreign relations. The placatory tone of Senator McCarthy's comment on the Dulles and Eisenhower statements showed he realized that the tide of public opinion was running against him. But there is no place where the principles reiterated by the administration need to be more consistently, more unwaveringly applied than in our dealings with our next-door neighbors. For great numbers of Canadians believe that important elements in this country, corrupted by the temptations of power, in our relations with them no longer care whether or not these principles are observed.

There will always be minor causes of disagreement between Canada and the United States. When two nations of such disparate size live next to each other, with their economies so intermingled, their political interests so similar and their cultural contacts so multitudinous, they are bound to have arguments back and forth over the best ways to attain and protect their national ends. If space permitted we could say something here concerning the present arguments over tariffs and border regulations and fisheries. But all such arguments can be conducted without affronting friendship.

It is when this relationship seems in danger of degenerating into something akin to the relationship between a neighborhood bully and his exasperated victims that friendship is threatened. And if the big neighbor compounds his fault by talking as though he regarded the rights of the small neighbor with contempt and held its leaders to be dishonorable men, then friendship is worse than threatened. Then it dies. "Never in all our history," Mr. Dulles reminded Senator McCarthy, "was there a time when good friends and allies meant so much to us." Sobering indeed should be the reflections of all farsighted Americans on the light-heartedness with which, during recent weeks, some Americans have been ready to wreck the foundations of Canadian friendship. A day may come when they, and all their countrymen with them, will rue such folly.

Kibya—and After

[EDITORIAL CORRESPONDENCE]

Jerusalem-Jordan, November 24.

DAY BEFORE YESTERDAY we boarded a plane in Beirut and in an hour reached this holy city. The plane rose steadily through the clouds until it broke through, just before we reached the white shoulders of Mount Hermon, which seemed almost to touch our wingtips. Pivoting on this, the highest mountain in this part of the world, we continued inland until blue Galilee lay on our right about five miles away. We continued east of the Jordan river until the Dead sea came into sight; then, with Jericho as a hinge, turned inland for the airfield near Ramalla, a few miles north of Jerusalem. Every moment of this, our first view of the Holy Land, was crowded with emotion as the land of the Scriptures unrolled like a scroll before our eyes.

I

But today the reality of war was brought home once more as we visited the Jordanian side of the bristling frontier between Israel and the surrounding Arab world. Its visage was particularly ugly in Kibya. This town we found to be slowly rising from the devastation created by the Israeli attack during the night of October 14-15. Men

and boys were hard at work shaping stone to rebuild the 42 houses, the schoolhouse which served several hundred children and other buildings that were destroyed. One man who had been captured but managed to escape showed us his wounds. The town, which had a population of 2,000, has buried its 66 dead, but the survivors showed us where they had perished. One man had an empty cartridge, picked up beside a murdered family. He said it had been made in the United States. The method most commonly followed by the attackers, we were told, was to kick in the door, spray the interior of the house with machine-gun fire, then finish the job by blowing the walls in with powerful explosive. The result: a waste of rubble —the universal trademark of modern war—and the odor of death.

II

Of course there have been other results. You are reading about some of them in the debates in the Security Council of the United Nations. But others are observed only by those who make the long, hard journey to the scene of the crime. (I am not using extreme language. The Truce Supervision Organization of the United Nations, in a report made on October 16, said the attack had been made by about half a battalion of the Israeli regular army and that it was "cold-blooded murder.") The first of these results is that the people of Kibya have not run away. The survivors grimly cling to their town, perched on its hill looking down on Israeli land stretching westward 16 miles to the sea. Kibyans would not admit that it is Israeli land, but would insist it is their own. And they are standing by until they can return to it. If the purpose of the attack on Kibya was to frighten these refugees into fleeing farther inland, as did a similar attack on Deir Yasin early in the war, it failed. The attack on Kibya showed that the people of Jordan do not stampede as easily as they did.

Another result is a sharp increase of hostility toward those who are held responsible for such attacks. This was plainly and emphatically told us this afternoon by the mayor of the town, who came on us when we were looking at the place where the schoolhouse had been. He looked us straight in the eye and said that this attack on his town, this slaughter of the women and children as well as the men of his town, this destruction of its school, had been done by American money and in fulfillment of American desires. The young man who translated from the Arabic laid on with a will in his translation. And the stern faces and flashing eyes of the crowd standing around indicated that nobody was joking.

A third result is the discovery on our part that the benevolence of Christian Americans is gratefully accepted, but not as a substitute for right actions on the part of government. As soon as the news of the Kibya attack reached Jerusalem, Edwin Moll, director of the Lutheran World Federation for the Near East, sent trucks with a ton of rice, four tons of flour, a ton of beans, four drums of powdered milk and other supplies. He also dispatched a doctor and a nurse. A soup kitchen was set up, and this church agency went to work 48 hours before any other group, governmental or nongovernmental, was ready to go into action. We saw the Lutheran World Federation hut and heard that its program was helping many of the survivors. Dr. Moll, who with his wife and John Barwick of the American Friends of the Middle East took John Cogley and myself to Kibya, was cordially received by the mayor and citizens of the town. But that did not soften their opinion of the part they believed America had played in the crime of Kibya.

III

Near the border in another place we interviewed two leaders of refugees. One had been a landowner. He still lived in his house, but his land had been cut off and was being farmed by others. We asked him why his people had left their land and he said they had been frightened by the 1948 Deir Yasin attack. They had learned on the radio that many women and children as well as men had been killed, and they were terrified and left hurriedly, with nothing but the clothes on their backs. Now, he said, as the refugees enter their sixth winter in tents and shacks, they despair that England or America or the United Nations will do anything to help them return to their homes. They will want to return to their homes even though they may have to be away a hundred years; even though this generation and another die, their grandchildren will want to return. Theirs, he said, is not only a legal right; God, who is just, is on their side.

But this tall man of 50, with deep voice rasped by emotion, said the refugees would act for themselves. He is urging a plan, he said, for their simultaneous return, and means to introduce it into the next meeting of the Jordan parliament, of which he is a member. It is for all the refugees to assemble on the borders at once and with their children in their arms to march peacefully across and go to their homes. He stressed that nobody would be armed, that it would be done with plenty of advance notice to all concerned, including the press of the world, and that the refugees would not resist if attacked or even if some of their number were killed. He said the last hope, that the attitude of America would change if a new administration came into power, was gone and the refugees had nobody to depend on but themselves. He thinks the Jordanian parliament will endorse his plan. We had heard the idea mentioned in Lebanon, but doubt, from what we have been told, that the action he advocated will be taken soon.

In still another village, which also has as many refugees as its original population, we met a group of former landowners. They are now living in poverty away from their land. They used to have houses of stone, orange groves, wide fields. All they want, they said, is to get their land back. If America did not support Israel with so much money, this might be possible. We asked them what they would do if they were the American people. They said they would make a propaganda for justice, greater than the propaganda of Israel in the United States, and they believed the American people would compel their government to act, for Americans will be with them if they understand. "We are Arabs and we are ready to work against Britain and America," one man said. "If the Russians come here, we are ready to go with them as a revenge."

The schoolmaster, with whom we talked in another place, said more people are friendly to the Soviet Union than ever, not because they like communism, for it goes

against their religion, but because it seems to be their only hope.

IV

I have talked with Americans here who resent the indictment of all Americans and everything the American government does, and who refuse to listen to threats that the people will turn to Russia. That position is easily understood as one listens in silence to the charges which are leveled against us. But I cannot get one experience out of my mind. A great storm raged around the eastern Mediterranean last week. In Beirut rain fell day after day. On the third day we went to a near-by refugee camp, although we had been warned to stay away, because the people would be in a bad mood.

It was really pouring when we reached the place on the outskirts of the city where a cluster of shacks huddled in a field. We could hardly get out of the car, for as soon as it stopped we were surrounded by men, women and children, all yelling at once, all wet, all thoroughly angry. The refugee who was our guide told us, as soon as he could do so for the clamor, that the people said this rain was killing them, that their children were all going to die of cold, that their tents leaked, that nobody had been able to get any sleep since the rain started, that we just had to see what was happening to them and do something about it.

I was concerned for the safety of Rabbi Morris Lazaron of New York, who was with us then (he did not come to Jordan because a visa was denied), but when that was assured by the guide, who stayed with him, I let the frantic refugees drag me—literally—from shack to shack. Not one was dry. All of them were leaking, some like sieves. Little children everywhere had their hair plastered to their heads, as if they had just come from a shower-bath, and their ragged clothes were soaked. In the whole camp I saw only one person with rubber shoes. Some of the huts had cement floors but many were earth now turned to mud. When it became known that we were not officials and had brought nothing to help them, mothers turned away crying. Others kept pulling at my sleeves and coat, begging me to come and see one more place. When I had to tear myself away by main force, I would not have blamed them if they had stoned me, as they recently did others who seemed no more than curiosity-seekers peering at their misery.

H.E.F.

The Devils Were White

EDITOR THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY:

SIR: The Ethiopian Church portrays all the saints as black and all the devils as white. We can readily understand the point of view. For that is not merely a bit of minor ecclesiastical lore, but just about the most important and terrifying fact of our time. Many of the devils in the world have been, and are, white devils.

Not, of course, by the white man's traditions of art. We do not make pictures of Satan with blond hair and blue eyes and a light skin. Once in a while, as in *Faust,* we give the devil a red suit, but that is just to liven up the scene. We never make him white.

The Ethiopian Church has a lot of history on its side. History is full of white devils. The long, revolting story of the African slave trade is a story of white devils. For centuries the forests of Africa rang with the cry, "Run for your lives! The white devils are coming!" They came, and in some years took away a hundred thousand slaves. It is hard to imagine what a stranglehold the slave trade had on the whole economy of Great Britain, before the advent of Wilberforce and Clarkson and others. It was as though a monster octopus had swum up the Mersey estuary, where most of the slave ships went out from, and spread its slimy tentacles to grasp every institution—Parliament, the banks, and many churches.

China knew the white devils all too well. In 1839 the Opium War was forced on China by Great Britain to sanction the importation of opium. The white devils wound the chains of opium on multitudes of Chinese, and then took Hongkong for good measure. Shortly after, Christian missionaries began to carry Christian teachings to the heathen Chinese, who were so besotted as to object to opium. The real bill for all that began to come in in the 1940s and 1950s. It is still coming in.

White devils are abroad in South Africa. Many of the worst of them are armed—as has sometimes happened—with a Bible. They are skillful devils, fomenters of chaos as accomplished in the oppression of the black people as any devils that ever took a postgraduate course in Hell. Langston Hughes has summed it up in a few words:

> I'm looking for a house in the world
> Where the white shadows
> Will not fall.
>
> There is no such house,
> Dark brother,
> No such house
> At all.

In these days when we talk so much about the Ecumenical Church, one good step might be to come a bit closer to the Ethiopian Church and share its sharp vision of the color of devils. Perhaps we might arrange to have fewer white ones, at any rate.

Yours,

SIMEON STYLITES.

To a Child Born on Christmas Day

YOU came into a world whose tragic crust
Is not of ice, but of an icy fear,
Where love is wanting, and where lies and lust
Subvert the chance which each millennial year
Holds for a darkened age. Slyly we grope
For glimpses of the universal light;
To be redeemed is still our hidden hope,
And still our faith is smaller than the night.

Your elders, child, are such divided men
As will not see the eastern star aglow.
Your little life does measure us as when
The Christchild entered centuries ago
And bade the nations find a bold release:
Glory to God, good will to men, and peace.

GERHARD FRIEDRICH.

Liberals and Evanston

By Henry E. Kolbe

WILL an intransigent spirit on the part of some American "liberal" Christians undermine the potential effectiveness of the meeting of the World Council of Churches at Evanston in 1954? Is American Christianity so completely dominated by the method, the form and the content of what is called "liberalism" that it can find no *modus vivendi* with the so-called Continental or neo-orthodox theology? Are we so wholly devoted to nontheological expressions of Christianity that we are unwilling or unable to act in a spirit of charity and brotherliness toward those who disagree with us on these matters?

These are questions which it might be better not to raise in such a time and concerning such an event. Yet, if my own experiences and observations in recent weeks are an indication of what is happening in our country, they must be raised.

I

These questions should not, however, be interpreted as applying to all "liberal" Christians. There are many who in attitude and expression are liberal in the best meaning of that word as generous of spirit, tolerant of views that differ from their own, earnest and fair in their desire to seek for truth. These will as a matter of principle endeavor to keep open avenues of communication between liberalism and neo-orthodoxy or other schools of thought. It may even be that they will seek to keep open ways of understanding after some of their theological opponents have tried to close them by dogmatic asseverations concerning the form and content of the faith.

Such liberals will not meekly surrender their views as to the proper methods of theological inquiry or the most adequate form or truest content of faith simply in order to attain or maintain a superficial sense of agreement. But they will not be so irrevocably committed to every particular point of method or content that they refuse to consider the possibility of adjustment. It is to these liberals, and to their counterparts on other sides of any theological disputation, that we must look if the ecumenical movement is not to founder in a quagmire of recrimination and name-calling.

Yet the fact must be faced that besides these genuine liberals there are some in whom illiberality of spirit hides behind the label of "liberalism." This illiberal spirit is noted frequently in the manner of their references to neo-orthodoxy or "Barthianism," references often couched in language which for contentiousness—if not contemptuousness—of spirit can rightly be judged unworthy of any Christian.

Several times recently I have heard responsible American Christian speakers dismiss somewhat scornfully the views of contemporary European theologians by reducing them to the spiritual and intellectual fatigue of central Europe after two great wars. No one can deny the influence of environmental or cultural factors in the formulation of a theology or philosophy. But it is a far cry from such influence to complete cultural determinism. Further, if these factors determine European theological thought, then equally may American theological liberalism be reduced to external and cultural factors. And then what happens to truth and significance? Surely, to attribute so great and influential a volume of theological literature to fatigue is too much of a cultural reductionism.

II

Closely related to this is the charge that theologians such as Barth and Brunner and, in this country, Reinhold Niebuhr present a theology of social and ethical quietism, of resignation to the evils of the world. More than once recently I have heard repeated the base and baseless canard that contemporary neo-orthodoxy advocates a policy of "Sit down, O men of God, there's nothing you can do." That parody of a familiar hymn was stillborn, yet it continues to be dragged forth. In a sense it is a form of theological jingoism, the purpose of which seems to be to appeal to the sense of national superiority of hearers who are not in position to judge as to the accuracy or fairness of the claim. Such tactics should be beneath the dignity of responsible Christian leaders, particularly in a time when the Christian movement itself is under such heavy attrition and attack as it is today. Now is no time for any needless barrier to be set between the Christians of any land and the movement of Christian fellowship which the World Council represents.

One cannot but wonder, too, whether those who repeat such charges know either the men of whom they speak or the works in which they set forth their doctrines. In some cases the books have quite evidently not been read. Indeed, those who claim to be "liberal" in their quest for truth and understanding sometimes glory in the fact that they have not read the books whose teachings they condemn. Yet they protest when, for example, the files of a congressional committee do with reference to Bishop Oxnam something almost exactly parallel to what they themselves do with reference to these European scholars with whose theology they disagree, or think they disagree.

The record of the men is open for all to see. The intensity of Reinhold Niebuhr's social concern and action is scarcely matched in any other American churchman. Barth was forced to leave Germany in the middle thirties because of his refusal to accede to demands from the nazis, and his continued advocacy of resistance to demonic tyranny as a Christian's duty is well known. The imprisonment of men such as Bishop Berggrav, Martin Niemöller and Hanns Lilje is a matter of common knowledge. Emil Brunner has long been active in social and political affairs in his native Switzerland, and only recently left his Zurich professorship in order to teach in the new International Christian University in Japan. W. A. Visser 't Hooft has probably been as active in the ecumenical movement as any man since Söderblom, and Adolphe Keller has for a long generation headed the significant work of church relief and rehabilita-

tion on the European continent. In the face of these facts it is still charged that European theological and ecclesiastical leaders advocate a sit-down ethic for Christians.

III

Further, the writings of these men bear abundant witness to their ethical and social concern. Brunner's great essay in Christian ethics, *The Divine Imperative,* was written more than a score of years ago, but it is still one of the best treatments of the subject, a book whose basic tenets must be taken into account by anyone who would claim to be intelligently informed on the ethic of Protestant Christianity. The profound ethical concerns given expression there permeate Brunner's later writings as well, as careful readers cannot fail to observe.

Barth likewise has been misunderstood and misrepresented on this point. He has been vehement in his claim that man's ethical conduct does not effect his redemption nor "build the Kingdom of God." In this he has set himself squarely across all moralistic interpretations of Christianity. It is, however, not a legitimate inference that the Christian has therefore no duties *as a Christian* in the social-ethical conflicts of the times. The critics of Barth overlook his Gifford lectures of 1937-38 *(The Knowledge of God and the Service of God According to the Teaching of the Reformation),* in which he explicitly referred to the "political service of God" in the state and indicated without ambiguity that the Christian "may neither pray nor wish" to be excused from it. "The world needs men," he said in his prewar lecture, "and it would be sad if it were just the Christians who did not wish to be men" (p. 232).

Nor is this an isolated example of Barth's social concern. The recent publication, in German, of major parts of his extended work on ethics will add greatly to an understanding of his views in this area of Christian thought. It should be noted also that this ethical concern is not an intrusion from without but a natural and logical development from his basic theological principles. Barth may have overstressed the transcendence of God and the weakness of man in his writings with respect to redemption, but surely it should not be expecting too much of liberal Christians that they "distinguish the things that differ," even when these things differ from their own presuppositions and preferences.

In the face of these facts, it is difficult to see how anyone who claims to be informed concerning present-day events and people in the Christian world can indulge in the sort of sweeping and ungenerous criticisms to which I have referred. Certainly the way to the development of a spirit of Christian understanding and brotherliness among world churchmen is not to be found through the careless bandying about of such charges nor in the spirit which they disclose. These distortions and misrepresentations almost force one to the belief that the critics are set so dogmatically against these theologians and their forms of theological expression that they have lost the sense of perspective and have become unable to think and judge calmly.

IV

To come now to the final question posed in the opening paragraph: Will the American tendency to belittle formal theology present a barrier to the success of the Evanston conference? The question is raised by an editorial note in The Christian Century, which speaks of "the theological fogbank headed toward Evanston" (October 21, p. 1201).

Now, the Century has rendered notable service by publishing in whole or in major part several preliminary drafts or reports of World Council commissions. This is a genuine service in that it makes available for general study and discussion these reports-in-progress. Yet it should be kept in mind that these preliminary reports and papers are not written primarily for the general reader. They are written by and for professionals or technical experts and are, therefore, cast in technical language, as are papers prepared for conferences of lawyers, scientists, philosophers or economists. They are not couched in the ordinary vocabulary of the man in the street nor in the parlance of the preacher in the pulpit. If this fact be lost to sight, then the relatively untrained reader, no matter how intelligent, may well find it most difficult to comprehend the significance of these preparatory papers, and so he may be turned away not only from the reading but also from a concern in the ecumenical movement itself.

It is to be hoped, of course, that if the Evanston conference issues a message or report to the churches, that message will be cast in language which can be readily "understanded of the people." The same expectation, however, need not hold with reference to the technical papers of the various commissions and study groups preparing for the conference, nor for the official discussions of the conference.

We in America perhaps do not like the particular form of imagery in which the technical papers and reports may be cast. I do not myself, for example, like the repeated references to the return of Christ as a means of expressing the Christian hope. Yet we ought not to let our fears of fundamentalist millennialism blind us even at this point. To assume that the "second coming" means the same when used by highly trained scholars and when used by the fundamentalist American Christian is to assume too much. We need to understand the developed theological frame of reference in which this imagery is employed by European theologians.

Nor does the foregoing mean that the American "liberal" representatives at Evanston ought to give in freely to European or "neo-orthodox" predilections on this point or on others. There has to be give-and-take in this matter of the linguistic form as well as in the doctrinal content of what is said at and by the conference, and neither all the giving nor all the taking should be on one side. Still it ought not to be too much to expect of American Christian scholars, churchmen and editors that they be generous even in their criticisms of points of view or imagery which seems particularly distasteful to them. In any case, the resort to emotionally charged and question-begging epithets is hardly the way to promote understanding.

There will be room aplenty at Evanston, as well as before and after, for forthright discussion of pertinent issues. There will perhaps be radical disagreement as to both detail and principle on particular points. Unless all signs fail, there will be more than one moment of tension at the conference—moments when the fate of the ecumenical enterprise may literally hang in the balance. This is serious business, not play-acting. But while there is no assignable

limit to the right to discuss the issues or to disagree on them, there is a limit to the manner of discussion and the tone and temper of disagreement. There is room enough for debate but no room at all for epithet or ridicule.

V

It may be objected that this article reveals too much spleen and too little liberality of spirit. It is admittedly a polemic, but it is not intended as a polemic against either persons or points of view. I am not arguing for or against either liberalism or neo-orthodoxy as such, nor for or against the particular linguistic pattern of either. The polemic is against what I regard as a serious and illiberal failure or refusal to act toward theological opponents in a spirit of Christian charity. The ecumenical movement and the World Council should not, perhaps, be called the "last best hope on earth," but those who are concerned with them do believe that in and through them God speaks to our century, even as he spoke through the Reformation in the 16th and the evangelical revival in the 18th century. If that faith be not wholly groundless, it would seem incumbent on all concerned Christians to do everything they can to further the movement and nothing to hinder it. There should therefore be no place, now or next year or ever, for a lack of charity in our judgments one of another, nor for a dogmatic spirit on either side which insists that everyone shall accept *in toto* the methods, the forms of expression and the creedal content of any particular school of theological thought.

The golden rule for all of us should be taken from the King James Version of I Corinthians 13:13—"And the greatest of these is charity." For only in an atmosphere where Christian charity prevails can men rightly discuss the Christian hope.

The Douks Are At It Again

By Marcus Bach

"THE DOUKS are at it again!" In British Columbia this means naked, chanting religionists marching across the hills and valleys in the Slocan country or traipsing through the streets of Nelson. It means dynamite blasts tearing up the right of way of the Canadian Pacific railroad, homemade bombs exploding under the tombs of Doukhobor leaders at Brilliant, terror among Canadians who have the Doukhobors as neighbors in Glade, Pass Creek and Shoreacres.

It means that police are baffled, unable to pin the blame for fires and bombings on the guilty, reluctant to take drastic measures, bewildered by the tactics of a minority group which, to quote many an irate B.C. citizen, has "made a monkey out of the government for fifty years." It means that the Sons of Freedom, radical Doukhobor sect, are once more in the news.

Encampment at Perry Siding

"The Douks are at it again!" That report had often brought me into Doukhobor territory, and recently it prompted me to go once more, this time to Perry Siding, British Columbia, where the Sons are pitching tents and building temporary shelters.

Perry Siding was once a drowsy settlement in the Slocan. Today it teems with Doukhobors arriving by truck and on foot to join their chanting comrades of a fiery faith. Tent Town, which could easily grow to an encampment of 1,500 men, women and children, is being watched apprehensively by the Royal Canadian Mounted Police. Many people believe that here the half-century-long struggle between the government and the Douks is heading for a showdown.

When I walked into the fenced-in camp, a group of the Sons of Freedom eyed me with open suspicion. Three elderly men and six women had shed their clothes. Several years ago, when I visited the Sons during their nude parading, one of them reminded me, "We are showing the world how we must meet God. Naked we came into the world and naked we must leave it."

Fortunately one of the men in Tent Town remembered me. In Russian he explained to his companions that I had sincerely sought to understand the Sons and what they believed. This, he declared, was more than most outsiders tried to do. We shook hands. Quickly a large crowd gathered around us.

Who Burns the Houses?

I asked for an interpreter and a husky lad wearing nothing but gold-rimmed spectacles offered to cooperate. This was Fred Davidoff. I had never met him. In fact, the entire personnel of the Sons had changed since my previous visits, though many of these people had come from the rugged hill town of Krestova, where I was acquainted. They had come to Perry Siding because their homes had been burned to the ground. Who burned them? That was the question.

That *is* the question Canadians ask every time another Doukhobor home goes up in flames. Who burns them? I don't know, but once when I stood near the exploding fire of a two-story structure and the Sons were watching it burn, chanting the while, one of them confided to me: "We burned it to avert a third world war. We burned it to show the people the evil of personal possession. Let everyone burn his home and let us all start to build a new world according to the plan of God!"

Was it possible that once again a protest against private enterprise, competitiveness and personal possession had been written in flames? Is it an act of penance on their part, springing from their fanatic conviction that mankind has sinned because "it wants to own what is God's"?

"Who burned your homes this time?" I asked.

My interpreter shouted my question to the crowd that was hemming us in. Murmurs arose, angry murmurs. A

man cried out, "Why don't the police find out? Why don't they do something? Why don't they give us protection?"

"The government," another exclaimed, "has a double standard. One for the English and another for us. Why don't they try to understand us?"

"What is it you want?" I asked.

"We want only to be left alone! We want only to follow Jesus!"

This was the great word. This was the big thing. This was the stock answer that stymied independent researcher and government official. "We want only to follow Jesus!" A woman repeated the words, beating the air with her clenched fists.

"Jesus," she said, "is here. He lives with us. He is telling us what to do. We must follow him no matter what happens to us!"

'Christ Within,' or Madness?

This is the impasse. This the heart of the difficulty. The Sons call it the "Christ within" and most Canadians call it Doukhobor madness. To find a way of harmonizing this fanatical zeal of the "inner voice" with civil order is the problem that has baffled British Columbia ever since the first Doukhobors came to Canada from Russia in 1899.

They came as peasants who since the 18th century had been in rebellion against the Orthodox Church. They believed in direct revelation. They opposed clericalism, pledged themselves to be pacifists, denounced earthly governments, sought to live the simple life. Tolstoy was influenced by them. Aylmer Maude, the Englishman who was to become Tolstoy's biographer, was their negotiator. American Quakers helped them come to Canada, whose government by an order-in-council in 1898 recognized and respected their beliefs.

They worked for the Canadian Pacific railway. They homesteaded and labored in the bush clearing the land. Presently they were marshaled together by Peter Vasilivich Verigin, who formed them into the Christian Community of Universal Brotherhood, a corporation capitalized at a million dollars. This was a communal experiment built around farmlands and sawmills and brick plants. But Peter Vasilivich died when a bomb mysteriously demolished his railroad coach.

Division Intervenes

His son, Peter Chestikov Verigin, who took over the leadership, ran the brotherhood into bankruptcy and was accused of misappropriating hundreds of thousands of its funds. "He was the purger," a Doukhobor told me. "God made him a gambler and a reprobate for our sakes. God worked through him to show us that money is temporary and only spiritual life is eternal. He had what we had: Jesus. But he was different and God took him away to show us that even Chestikov was mortal."

Since the purger's death in 1939 the leaderless Doukhobors have gravitated into three groups. The Union of Doukhobors in Canada, concentrated in Saskatchewan, represents the nearly 12,000 assimilated and Canadianized Doukhobors. The Christian Communities of Christ include some 4,000 who are banded into a kind of cooperative association and recognize the leadership of John J. Verigin, grandson of Peter Chestikov.

Then there are the "mad, bad Douks," the 2,500 Sons of Freedom, many of whom have accepted as their leader a D.P. immigrant, S. S. Sorokin. This bearded newcomer, now in South America seeking a new homeland for his adopted people, has warned that "Doukhobor is not an empty word, nor a national word, nor a caste, nor a race, nor a political organization, but a worldwide spiritual movement concerning both the soul of man and the Spirit of God."

Tent Town represented a problem as vague as this new leader's words, and as inflaming. I felt it as the religious fervor and the unyielding talk about their faith grew to a frenzy. I had been bold enough to inquire what the Sons planned to do about the government's determination to compel Doukhobor children to attend provincial schools.

"We will never submit!" came the thundering answer. "Education takes people away from God. Jesus can never get through to an educated man. He came to the common people in his day and he still comes to them, to people like us. We are his chosen ones and the only school we need is the school of his Spirit. They who have Jesus for their teacher need no other schoolmaster."

My question was feeble: "Don't you want your children to learn to read and write?"

Davidoff, repeating this in Russian to the agitated assembly, was interrupted by a naked woman who shook her fist under my nose. "What is there to read?" she wanted to know. "The lies in the newspapers? The filth in the magazines? Is that what Jesus wants?"

"How about reading the Bible?" I asked.

"We *teach* our children the Bible," was the reply. "The Bible should be read with the heart, not with the eyes. We teach our children all the religion they need to know. If the government gets them to school it will get them to go to war, too. We are pacifists. We do not believe in force."

The Piers Island Incident

Some two thousand feet from where we stood, a guard had been posted around the Perry school. All up and down the valley, schools were being patrolled, had been patrolled for months, night and day. More than 400 cases of arson were on the records, most of them burnings of provincial schools and Doukhobor homes. "The Douks," say Canadians, "are the most belligerent pacifists in the world."

Occasionally one of the Sons is convicted of arson, but more often the fire remains a mystery. Hundreds of unsolved cases have made Canadians impatient. "If we set fire to something, we'd be picked up in a hurry," is the general comment. "Why can't the mounted police get the Douks?"

A farmer in the valley told me that one of the Sons, released from prison, was welcomed home by chanting crowds at Krestova as if he had been in Korea. "No fellow coming back from war could have gotten a bigger reception. He was a hero. The Douks don't mind going to jail. They enjoy it, especially when they can go there in a group!"

He was referring to the Piers Island incident. In the spring of 1932, 600 men and women were convicted of indecent exposure. To find suitable jail space the Canadian government leased Piers Island. The prisoners offered no resistance and simply transferred their portable way of

living to this new location. Some even continued nudism in their new "home," but only briefly. Mosquitoes and yellow jackets accomplished what Canadian authorities had been unable to achieve up to then.

The biggest complaint of the Piers Island "convicts" was that they missed their children. The government complained, too, because the children came under federal custodial care and presented such a problem that everyone was relieved when the imprisonment ended in 1935 and the Sons came marching home. Removal to an island was never repeated.

The Province Seeks an Answer

What to do with the Sons? That question has never been answered. In 1952 the provincial government requested the University of British Columbia to get scientific about the problem. A research committee was formed which called upon a psychiatrist, a psychologist, an anthropologist, a sociologist and other academic minds to come up with some recommendations. The committee's report, just published in more than 300 pages, is packed with statistics and technical information. It carries case histories and documentation and reads like a doctoral thesis. Its conclusion: "Unless Doukhoborism can be fitted successfully into modern Canadian life, the Sons of Freedom will probably continue to appeal to an increasing number of other Doukhobors in an anti-Doukhobor climate."

What both Doukhobors and Canadians want to know is how the social climate can be improved. The only liaison man between the government's consultative committee and the Sons of Freedom—Hugh Herbison of Crescent Valley—has just resigned. He is reported to have quit his post because he was embarrassed by the provincial government's inability to outline a clear-cut program. The job of maintaining a line of communication between the restive campers in Tent Town and the province now goes to Emmett Gulley, a U.S. Quaker who has been working with the committee for nearly two years. In August 1951, while he was attending a meeting of the committee, the house in which he had been living was burned to the ground.

I asked the crowd at Perry Siding whether the committee and its report were helping to clear the atmosphere. At this an elderly man threw off his clothes. A few of the younger members laughed. A woman shouted, "How can anyone help us when nobody wants to understand us? We can only go on and trust in Jesus."

I asked Fred Davidoff what the Tent Towners planned to do when winter came. "Jesus will take care of us," he said, and the crowd vociferously agreed.

Then, suddenly, someone started a song. With the first tone, men who had been working at the shelters came to join us. Women hurried from the clean white tents and mingled their voices with the chanting. Children chimed in.

The singing swelled like the music of a great organ. It was a chant in which the deep-toned voices of the men blended in perfect harmony with the high-pitched fervor of the ecstatic women. Even those who want to "drive the Douks into the sea" pause in wonder when they hear these marvelously performed Russian hymns. There is nothing like them in all Canada. At public functions, visitors always ask for Doukhobor music. Radios feature it. Musicians study it. Church people are thrilled by it.

As I heard it again I recalled what a government official once told me: "Is it possible that there is something deep and rich in these folks that we have missed? Are they really a chosen people or only psychopaths?"

What were they singing about? God and the suffering of those he loves, pacifism and the communal life, and how beautiful it is to have only one leader and one law: Jesus.

BOOKS

The Human Comedy

THE PHILOSOPHY OF SHAKESPEARE. *By K. J. Spalding. Philosophical Library, $3.75.*

SHAKESPEARE was no professional philosopher but, like all other serious poets, he encountered the great persistent problems of life and thought. If he had given them categorical and argued answers and had wrought these into a consistent system, he would not have been a poet. Since he was dramatist as well as poet, he related his answers to specific situations and put them into the mouths of his characters. Therefore any attempt to systematize his philosophy is hampered by two constantly recurring questions: First, is the answer given in a specific dramatic situation meant to be generalized into a universal principle? Second, is the poet speaking his own thoughts with the tongue of a Hamlet, a Prospero or a Macbeth, or is he in each case only indicating the world view that would be held by such a character in such a situation?

The latter difficulty calls for special caution. It will not do to make random quotations from the plays and prefix to them "Shakespeare says," to give them authority or to portray the mind of the poet. Comparable fallacies may arise from loose use of the phrase "the Bible says," when it may turn out that the text only tells what the Bible says that some quite fallible character says (e.g., Satan, in Job 2:4). It is not Shakespeare speaking for himself, but Shakespeare's Macbeth in his hour of deepest despair, who says:

> Life's but a walking shadow, a poor player
> That struts and frets his hour upon the stage,
> And then is heard no more; it is a tale
> Told by an idiot, full of sound and fury,
> Signifying nothing.

Mr. Spalding (fellow of Brasenose College, Oxford) is fully aware of this clouded glass through which the mind of the dramatist must be seen if it is to be seen at all, but he holds, quite rightly, that even so the large movements of his thought and the broad outlines of his philosophy can be discerned. With a multiplicity of quotations from the plays—and a few from the poems, in which our view of the poet's mind is not colored by the medium of drama—he skillfully develops what may fairly be called Shakespeare's own philosophy.

Shakespeare was an incorrigible pluralist. He was sensitive to the rich variety of persons, forces, situations, events and experiences that make up the intricate fabric of the human scene. Good and bad are inextricably mingled and nothing is without its value, though the values differ in quantity and quality. Above all, these things are real. The world is *not,* as Prospero said, an "insubstantial pageant," and we are *not* "such stuff as dreams are made on." It and we are real, and important. Life has significance. Man has significance, as well as weaknesses. The evils in the world also are real. "The foul body of the infected world" needs to be cleansed, and can be.

(Continued on page 1476)

U.N.—Snare or Shield?

After Eight Years of Experience, What Estimate Can an Informed Citizen Place on the Contribution of This International Organization to the Cause of World Peace?

CONCERNING the United Nations, Mr. Average American is a puzzled man. His wife is just as puzzled. They hear so many conflicting opinions that they don't know what they think about it. Is this international organization of 60 nations a bulwark of peace? Does it help shield their beloved nation, the United States of America, from harm? Or is it useless? Even worse, is it a trap in which American strength is being drained off, American money wasted, the lives of American boys thrown away? The U.N.—is it any good, or isn't it?

Mr. and Mrs. Average American wish they could be sure. They hear and read a lot about the U.N. Hardly a day passes when the name doesn't come up in some form or other. Korea—that's the U.N. Vishinsky—the U.N. again. Palestine, Morocco, Kashmir, refugees, human rights, child feeding—all the U.N. Yet Americans disagree violently as to its value.

President Eisenhower, for example, tells a group at the White House that "the U.N. is far more than merely a desirable organization in these days." He calls it "man's best organized hope to substitute the conference table for the battlefield." "Who knows," he asks, "what could have happened in these past years of strain and struggle if we hadn't had the United Nations?" And he could hardly put his endorsement in stronger words than when he says, "I think the U.N. has become a sheer necessity."

President Truman talked the same way when he was in office. In one of his closing messages to Congress he said, "Peace cannot be maintained for long unless there is an international organization" such as the U.N. In Mr. Truman's eyes it is "the first and greatest weapon against aggression and international immorality . . . a precious instrument . . . a great asset that we should constantly seek to reinforce, that we should never ignore or cast away." This was the Truman conclusion: "We can win the peace only by continuing to work for international justice and morality through the United Nations."

That's the way two Presidents, one a Republican and the other a Democrat, size up the U.N. But distinguished Americans disagree. "It should be painfully apparent," says J. Bracken Lee, governor of Utah, "that as presently constituted the U.N. is a snare and a delusion." Representative Burdick of North Dakota told Congress that it must "watch well the United Nations for, as now constituted, it is Enemy Number 1 of free America." The St. Louis national convention of the American Legion cheered its former national commander, Donald Wilson, when in a speech he said: "The United Nations is dead. It was a fraud in its inception, a hypocrite in its operation; but for the fact that it first reddened Korean mountains with sacred American blood, it would have been a farce in its demise."[1]

The attacks are not confined to men in public life. Here is a paper called *The Cross and the Flag* which, claiming to speak in the name of religion, turns loose a wild diatribe: "Its flag is the same color as the Jew Palestine flag and is the same design as the Russian military banner." Although forced to acknowledge that President Eisenhower has only good things to say about the U.N., this paper calls it "the most expensive denial of Christ in an attempt to please the anti-Christs in the history of the world." It declares the U.N. "the most elite and high-toned crucifixion our Lord has ever received."[2]

Wild words such as these can be shrugged off as rantings from the lunatic fringe. But on the day when this paragraph was being written, the most powerful newspaper in Chicago (it calls itself "the world's greatest newspaper") charged editorially that this nation's international difficulties spring from the fact that our government "meekly assents to the proposition that America takes its orders from the U.N." (There are members of the U.N. who would assert that *its* difficulties are caused by the fact that it too often takes its orders from America, but that isn't the way the readers of the *Tribune* hear it.)

The day before it printed the editorial just quoted, this same paper charged flatly that "the U.N. has proved a failure," and added that it is "Alger Hiss' major contribution to the vexations of the United States." The day before that it declared that Americans who support the United Nations "look forward with equanimity to the destruction of American independence and the subjection of the government of the republic to the authority of a U.N. supergovernment."[3] A large number of people in the middle west get that kind of editorial diet steadily. There are other newspapers whose contempt for the international organization, if not as bitterly expressed, goes just as deep.

Is it any wonder, in the face of such divided counsel, that so many Americans do not know whom to believe or what to believe? This study is an effort to help such Americans make up their minds. It will try to give a balanced picture—the good and the bad; the strengths and the weaknesses; the achievements and the failures of the U.N. Then, it is believed, the Americans who have read it will find themselves better able to reach their own conclusions on this much-debated and immensely important matter.

IN a study such as this, one must ask questions as well as try to answer them. So let's start with a couple. Why is there such an organization as the United Nations? If there were no U.N., would it make any great difference? Or, to phrase the second question a little differently, what would be the alternative to the U.N.?

Why is there a United Nations? Most Americans know, but it is worth saying again, that the U.N. traces back to the great change in world history which came with the First World War. As the United States and most of the other nations were drawn into that conflict,

an American President, Woodrow Wilson, saw that its sacrifices would be justified only if it led to an organization of the nations to preserve peace, increase human happiness and provide a means by which their disputes could be settled around a conference table instead of on fields of battle.

So President Wilson went to the Paris Peace Conference in 1918 determined to see such an organization brought into being. In his famous Fourteen Points he had told the world what the United States was fighting to establish. The common people of every nation and on every continent had responded with enthusiasm to his proposal. About all that he demanded at that Peace Conference was that the peace treaty should establish a League of Nations to end the war-breeding international anarchy in which, to use Old Testament phraseology, every nation "did that which was right in its own eyes."

Perhaps, at Paris, Woodrow Wilson concentrated his attention too largely on securing the establishment of the League of Nations. Perhaps he let too many injustices and trouble-planting provisions slip into other parts of the Treaty of Versailles. We think he did. But that, he believed, was the price he had to pay to get the League. And he hoped that after the League had been in operation for a while it would find ways to correct most of the wrongs—which President Wilson knew were wrongs—in the treaty. The thing that counted, he insisted, was that the League had been formed. It wasn't perfect. It could not be expected to be perfect, growing as it did out of a terrible war and with its Covenant written by men who were still influenced by the passions of that war.

But it was a League of Nations—a body made up of most of the states which had gone through the agony of the war (even Germany eventually was admitted), sworn to deal with one another by peaceful methods and to restrain aggressors, to work out a body of international law and to carry disputes to a world court.

It is not the purpose of this study to discuss the League of Nations, because the League is dead. It is past history; water under the bridge. "Ah," says someone, "that's the point! The League died. It failed. Doesn't its failure prove that the nations will not work together successfully for peace in such an organization? If the League failed, isn't the U.N. doomed to fail likewise?"

Fair questions, and not easy to answer. Why did the League of Nations die? It accomplished a number of good things, and it had the support and prayers of millions upon millions of the world's people. Why did it die? Frequently it has been charged that it died because the United States stayed out. Certainly that was a factor, but it was hardly the decisive factor. As a matter of fact, after the bitterness subsided that had been generated by the partisan struggle between President Wilson and certain senators who blocked American entrance, the United States cooperated with the League to a degree which was scarcely distinguishable from membership.

The factor which spelled doom for the League, we are convinced as we look back at the record, was its rigidity. At the heart of the League Covenant was a pledge that the League would keep the boundaries of the nations exactly where they were drawn by the Peace Conference. That was intended to hold in check any future Kaiser Wilhelm who might be tempted to order his armies to invade another Belgium. What it actually did was to imply that the decisions of the Treaty of Versailles were perfect; that they were to be maintained world without end.

Of course, that just could not be. The Versailles decisions were far from perfect, as wise men were pointing out even before the Peace Conference adjourned. There was too much ferment in the new nations, too many old nations believed they were victims of a raw deal, too many yellow and brown and black men were fed up with the idea of a world run by whites. History is a powerful brew. It blew the decisions of the Treaty of Versailles sky-high, and in so doing it blew the League of Nations out of existence.

THAT brought World War II. Again, the President of the United States, as he saw this nation being drawn into a conflict which almost every American wanted desperately to keep out of, proclaimed the need for an organization of the nations where they would sit together, negotiate together, work together, continuously and by all pacific means, to maintain peace.

The first outline of the ends such an organization should seek came in the Atlantic Charter, which President Roosevelt and Prime Minister Churchill drew up in August 1941—four months before Pearl Harbor. Not long ago a writer working on this study was talking with one of the officers of the U.N. in his office high in its glass-walled skyscraper in New York. "When I find myself wondering whether the United Nations is keeping on the right track," he said, "I turn back to those provisions of the Atlantic Charter and check what we are doing against them. The essence of the purpose of the U.N. is all right there."[4]

Well, that was in August 1941. On January 1, 1942, 26 nations signed a declaration saying that they subscribed to the terms of the Atlantic Charter. (Later 21 more signed this declaration.) Then, on October 30, 1943, the governments of the "Big Four" fighting the Axis put their names to a promise to establish "at the earliest practicable date a general international organization, based on the principle of the sovereign equality of all peace-loving states, and open to membership to all such states, large and small, for the maintenance of international peace and security."

That, of course, was the key promise to establish the United Nations, as it was already being called. The governments who made that promise called such an organization "a necessity." The promise was fulfilled on June 26, 1945, when 50 nations signed the Charter of the United Nations at the organizing conference in San Francisco. Today, there are 60 nations in the membership. No nation has ever tried to give up its membership. There are 21 nations applying for membership today. That, by the way, is something to think about. If the U.N. is a failure, as charged, it is a peculiar sort of failure while nations keep clamoring to be admitted so that they can assume the obligations and costs of membership!

Why the United Nations? This, in brief, is the way in which it came to be. The U.N. was formed because the nations which had been scourged by two global wars within a single generation were driven by their losses and their fears for the future to agree that such an organization *had* to be formed. They *had* to have some regular, permanent, continuous way to consult together, work together, search together for peaceful ways of conducting the affairs of nations. So, eight years ago, they made that promise to mankind which, as it opens the Charter of the U.N., is worth reading again when one is trying to determine what to think of this organization:

> *We, the peoples of the United Nations,* determined—
>
> to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war, which twice in our lifetime has brought untold sorrow to mankind, and
>
> to reaffirm faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person, in the equal rights of

men and women and of nations large and small, and

to establish conditions under which justice and respect for the obligations arising from treaties and other sources of international law can be maintained, and

to promote social progress and better standards of life in larger freedom,

and for these ends

to practice tolerance and live together in peace with one another as good neighbors, and

to unite our strength to maintain international peace and security, and

to insure, by the acceptance of principles and the institution of methods, that armed force shall not be used, save in the common interest, and

to employ international machinery for the promotion of the economic and social advancement of all peoples,

have resolved to combine our efforts to accomplish these aims.

Empty words? Certainly they are only words, and there have been many times since 1945 when, seeing what the nations who signed those words actually did, they sounded pretty empty. There will be more such times in the future. But there the words are—aspirations, if nothing more. "Not failure, but low aim, is crime." Perhaps the U. S. Senate was thinking of that well worn, but true, reminder when, on July 28, 1945, it ratified American adherence to the U.N. Charter by the overwhelming vote of 89 to 2.

Note this, however. The Charter of the United Nations did not pledge its members to keep the world as World War II left it, without permitting any changes. In these eight years since the Charter was signed, nine nations with populations totaling more than 600 million have gained independence. And the Charter provided for its own change. In this basic difference between the Covenant of the League and the Charter of the U.N. it is instructive to see that the nations which formed this international organization in 1945 had learned wisdom from one of the great mistakes made by their forerunners in 1918.

If Not the U.N., What?

NOW for our second question. If there were no United Nations, would it make any great difference? What would the world be like today without the U.N.?

President Eisenhower evidently believes it would be a world much more dangerous for the United States. That is the plain implication of his question we have already quoted: "Who knows what could have happened in these past years of strain and struggle if we hadn't had the United Nations?"

Why more dangerous? The answer may become clearer if we look at a few of the things that have happened since the end of World War II and think what might have happened had there been no United Nations.

Do you recall how, after the end of the war, when the other nations had removed their troops, Russia kept its forces in the northern part of Iran? Iran spells oil. It also constitutes a strategic control-spot for the whole Middle East. Iran was far too weak to defend its independence against the Soviet invader. The rest of the world was appalled at the prospect of a rapid Russian conquest.

If Russia had pushed on to seize Iran's oil and its coasts along the Persian gulf and the Arabian sea, other powers probably would have jumped in to forestall her. That would have brought another major war—perhaps another world war—right there. If they had let Russia swallow its Persian neighbor, that would have put the Communists in control of fabulous oil supplies—something Russia badly needs—and the sea route from Europe to the Orient. World communism would have become so strong, from a military and political standpoint, that it would have been far more of a threat than it has been.

But what happened? Iran appealed to the United Nations. The U.N. told Russia that, under the terms of the Charter, it had no business in Iran. In Moscow the Russian leaders weighed what it would mean to have the other nations in the U.N. against them. Within five months, the last Russian soldier was out of Iran. Peace had been preserved in that danger-spot of the Middle East by the operations of the U.N. But if there had been no U.N. for Iran to appeal to . . .?

OR remember what happened in Indonesia. That story will be told in some detail later in this study. Here it is enough to recall how the Dutch, who had ruled these rich islands in the East Indies for more than 300 years, tried to throttle the demand for independence of the native patriots who, after the defeat of Japan, had proclaimed the Republic of Indonesia.

For a time it looked as though a war for independence could not be avoided. It would have been a bloody war, for there are 70 million in Indonesia and they would have fought by the savage methods which are the only ones available to guerrillas striking from mountain fastnesses and tropical jungles. There would have been massacres of Dutch and retaliatory measures against Indonesians. The islands would have been desolated and Asia's anger against white colonialism incalculably increased.

But the Indonesian patriots had an alternative to guerrilla warfare. Their case was brought before the U.N. By careful negotiation, helped along by good sense and patience on the part of both the Dutch and the Indonesians, the issue was worked out peacefully. The Republic was established; the Dutch army went back to Holland; Indonesia is today an independent nation with membership in the U.N. But if there had been no U.N. to consider the Indonesian case . . .?

Then there's the story of Palestine. War actually started there. It looked as though it would go on and spread until the whole Near East would be in flames. In other days, such a war in the Near East would almost certainly have drawn in the European powers, for they have great interests in the control of that end of the Mediterranean.

Then the U.N. stepped in. It tried to arrange a truce. The first representative of the U.N. who tackled what looked like an impossible task, Count Folke Bernadotte of Sweden, was assassinated in Jerusalem. But Dr. Ralph J. Bunche, his American assistant, took over and after long, long negotiations, induced both sides—the Israelis and the Arabs—to agree to a cease-fire and a truce line. For that, Dr. Bunche was awarded the Nobel peace prize, and well he deserved it.

It may be objected that the U.N. obtained only a truce in Palestine, not a firm peace. That is true. The situation is still tense; sporadic outbreaks along the truce line from time to time remind the world how much danger of another explosion remains. But is it not better to have a truce, even an uneasy truce, than to have a continuing war which might easily bring on another world war? The U.N. provided the alternative by which that truce was gained. In so doing, it helped preserve the peace of the rest of the world, including the

United States. What if there had not been this alternative?

CONSIDER Kashmir. Here is a beautiful, rich region which two nations, Pakistan and India, are determined to possess. Fighting had started between irregular forces and armies were being moved up in preparation for a major war. Once again the U.N. offered its good offices; the fighting was stopped; a truce line was drawn and the process started for determining the future of Kashmir by peaceful negotiation.

Is it objected that the Kashmir question is not yet settled? That's true. But again, isn't a truce, which gives opportunity for an ultimate settlement by peaceful means, better than a war? A war between Pakistan and India would involve from the start half a billion people. Eventually, a war on that scale would probably drag in all the rest of us. Here's another instance where we can thank God that the U.N. offered an alternative, and that Pakistan and India, both members of the U.N., were ready to turn to that alternative.

Or reflect on what has happened with regard to some of the native peoples in Africa. Africa is seething today with the demands of some regions for independence and of others for much greater rights for the native tribesmen. The terrible things that have taken place during the Mau Mau outbreak in Kenya show how easily the central part of this continent might be drowned in blood if the tribes became convinced that they had no way of gaining their rights except by uprisings against the colonial rulers and the white colonists.

But the U.N. has offered an alternative. Literally hundreds of complaints from African tribes, and even from individual Africans, have been received by the U.N. African delegations have appeared before the U.N. to plead their wrongs. Champions of the rights of the African tribesmen, such as that dedicated Anglican clergyman, the Rev. Michael Scott, appear to present the complaints of the tribes and are given a sympathetic hearing by the proper U.N. bodies, even though a state that proclaims white supremacy as its goal for Africa—the Union of South Africa—uses every device possible to silence this voice of Christian conscience and keep its spokesmen away from the U.N.

To be sure, about all the U.N. has been able to do in most cases has been to make impartial investigations and then to place on the conscience of the colonial powers the conditions which have been discovered. Africa's revolt against colonialism and white rule is a long way from settled. The U.N.'s moral suasion can only work slowly. But isn't it better to have the Africans able to resort to the alternative of peaceful appeal to the U.N.'s Trusteeship Council than to face repetition all over the continent of the tragedy in Kenya?

BUT, someone objects, how about Korea? Did the U.N. provide an alternative there? On the contrary, didn't it involve us in a terrible war—a war which cost the United States the fourth-largest number of casualties in our history and from $15 to $20 billion?

We shall speak of Korea again and in more detail. Yet it should be made plain that the U.N. *did* give us an alternative in Korea. At the start, it provided the alternative of a country peacefully divided into two parts, a democratic and a communist part, instead of one left to be fought over until one part conquered the other. Then when the Communists refused longer to accept this peaceful division and invaded the south, the U.N. gave the United States an alternative. It did not have to act alone; it could take the crisis to the U.N. and call on the U.N. for help.

Suppose there had been no U.N. when North Korea invaded the south. What would have happened? If the United States had done nothing, South Korea would quickly have been overrun and a Communist Korea established, pointing straight at the area of American interest in Japan, Okinawa, the Philippines and the rest of the far Pacific. Certainly the United States would not have let that happen. It would have plunged in alone to keep the Communists out of South Korea.

An out-and-out war between the United States and the Communist state of North Korea would have brought Communist China rushing in officially and immediately. (It is worth remembering that Communist China never technically entered the war against the U.N. The Chinese troops who fought did so under the legal fiction of being "volunteers" who went of their own free will—like the German and Italian "volunteers" in the Spanish civil war—to help their communist friends in North Korea.) War would have been declared between the United States and Red China.

Then the fat would have been in the fire! Soviet Russia has a treaty which binds it to come to the aid of its Communist China ally if that country is attacked. Moscow might have tried to put off honoring that treaty promise, but the moment the U.S.A. forces penetrated Chinese soil, or American bombs began to hit Chinese targets, Soviet Russia would have been forced to come in. Why? Because not to have done so would have been notice to all the other communist allies that Russian promises were worthless; the communist world bloc would have collapsed.

Russia would have come in. Then it would have been war between the United States *alone* and Soviet Russia with Communist China at its side. That is the very war which the United States most wants to prevent—the war the American people most dread. What the losses of such a war would be, one's mind almost refuses to contemplate.

NONE of us can be very content with what actually has happened in Korea. But to that possible war between the United States alone and the Russian-Chinese alliance, the U.N. did offer an alternative. The outcome of taking that alternative is still in doubt. But as this is written, the Communist attempt to seize all Korea has been stopped in its tracks. The Communist armies are back north of the line from which they jumped off when they launched their aggression. A cease-fire has gone into effect. A truce line has been drawn. Thousands upon thousands of North Korean and Chinese troops have told the world that they want nothing more to do with communism.

Isn't that alternative, with all its shortcomings, better for the United States and for our American homes than it would be for our country now to be locked in a lone death struggle with Russia and its Asian ally?

The United Nations is young—only eight years old. It is not as strong as it would be if it were not plagued by the inner rift between its Communist and non-Communist members. There are many things we wish it could do that it is not able to do—at least not yet. But with all its weaknesses it has already, in such cases as have been cited, where a crisis arose that threatened terrible bloodshed, offered an alternative which either headed off or stopped the fighting, or—in the single instance where its efforts at peaceful settlement were thwarted by outright aggression—it has saved this nation from having to deal with that aggression singlehanded and against a gigantic Communist alliance.

No wonder President Eisenhower, the man who best knows the dangers his country faces, talks of what our peril would be today if during these recent years there had been no U.N.

How the U.N. Operates

BECAUSE there is still so much confusion about the way in which the United Nations carries on its functions, a quick glance at its organization may be helpful in assaying its merits. There are Americans who speak of the U.N. as though it were a supergovernment of some kind. It is not. It comes closer to being a sort of committee—a world committee with little more than advisory powers.

The United Nations is a body composed of sixty sovereign nations—and the key word is "sovereign." They are sixty independent nations. They meet on terms of equality. Meeting together, the aim is to bring their national policies into harmony. But they remain independent, self-governing (i.e., sovereign) nations. That is the reason why sometimes the U.N. is unable to do what many would like to see it do in forcing certain nations to act in certain ways.

You may have heard it said that the U.N. can give orders to the United States and to other countries. It has been charged, for example, that it "dragged" us into war in Korea. The truth is just the opposite. It was the United States which appealed to the U.N.'s Security Council to approve action against the Communist aggression in Korea and to call on other member-nations of the U.N. to help throw back that aggression. But note that it could only *ask* these other nations to help; if they did not want to, the U.N. could not order them to.

Moreover, the Security Council cannot act in any matter against the wishes of the United States, for this nation is one of the five permanent members of the Council any one of which is able to block action at any time by its sole vote. (This is the much-debated "veto," about which more will be said later.)

Again, you may have heard it said that a U.N. supergovernment can impose laws on the people of the United States and of other countries. This also is a fairy tale. It got started when a decision by a single judge in a lower court in California argued that the U.N. Charter constitutes a treaty superior in authority to American laws. A higher court set aside this decision. The fact is that the U.N. is specifically forbidden by its Charter "to intervene in matters which are essentially within the domestic jurisdiction of any state."

The U.N. is so far from being a supergovernment, so stringently prohibited from interfering in our U.S. domestic concerns, that many students of international affairs will argue that the nations—our own included—have gone too far in circumscribing its powers. But that is a theoretical debate; what we are interested in is what the U.N. actually is—and isn't.

THE U.N. organization is easy to understand. There are 60 members, all, as has been said, independent nations. These nations send their delegates to a General Assembly which meets annually, unless it should be called into special session. In this General Assembly, each nation has the same number of delegates (5) and each casts one vote. The United States and Uruguay, for instance, meet as equals in the Assembly.

The Assembly does most of its work through committees. Some of these are standing committees; some are committees which function during the interval between sessions of the Assembly; some are special committees set up to deal with a particular situation which threatens peace. An example is the U.N. Conciliation Commission for Palestine.

Years ago John Foster Dulles called the Assembly "the town meeting of the world." The name has stuck because it is so apt. Any conceivable question, provided it bears on the maintenance of peace, can be handed to the Assembly by any member. If its steering committee agrees that it is a question which should be considered, it goes to the appropriate committee for recommendation. From there it comes back to the full Assembly. Actions on important matters have to be by a two-thirds majority; on other matters by a simple majority. But actions in the Assembly can only be advisory. They depend for their influence on the moral weight of world public opinion behind them.

Alongside the General Assembly the U.N. has its Security Council of eleven member-nations. This was planned as a sort of executive committee and it was given power, not only to investigate and consider situations which threaten peace (as the Assembly also does), but to take action against aggressors. To make sure, however, that such action was not taken against the wishes of the greater powers, the Security Council was set up with five veto-holding permanent members and six non-permanent who rotate in two-year terms.

The Security Council is always, theoretically, in session. But it can act in important matters only when seven members including *all* the permanent members—China, France, the U.S.S.R., Great Britain and the U.S.A.—agree. In other words, each of these five has a veto on actions which might be supported by all the others. Before Americans grow too indignant at the Russians for the way in which they have used their veto power again and again, let them remember that when the U.N. was formed the United States demanded that there should be such veto powers.

THESE two bodies—the General Assembly and the Security Council—are what might be called the peace-keeping and peace-making agencies of the United Nations. But there are other agencies which in other ways also serve the cause of peace.

There is the Economic and Social Council, which is designed to deal with those human problems of food, work, living conditions, educational opportunity and so on which so often have caused the misery out of which international trouble has come.

There is the Trusteeship Council, which supervises 11 "trust territories," as they are called, under their administering nations, and is trying to bring them along as rapidly as possible to the point where they are ready for self-government. In addition, it keeps an eye on all the colonial administrations in the world—there are about 70—and gathers annually reports on how well they are being administered, all to the end that their peoples may be prepared for eventual self-government.

Then there is the International Court of Justice, which sits at the Hague. Its name sufficiently suggests its function. And finally there is the Secretariat—the company of about 4,500 international civil servants who are the technicians who make the multitudinous committees and commissions and agencies work. These are drawn from all the member-states but they are pledged to put the peace of the world ahead of the interests of their own nations. To an astonishing degree, most of them succeed in doing that. The longer they serve in the Secretariat, the better they succeed. At the head of the Secretariat, serving as the principal executive officer of the U.N., is the Secretary-General. The present Secretary-General, serving a 5-year term, is Dag Hammarskjold (pronounced Hammer-shield) of Sweden.

This sketches only the barest bones of the United Nations organization. It does not begin to indicate the number

of different agencies of one kind and another which are always at work around the world under U.N. auspices. If you want a complete chart of the U.N. organization, write to its headquarters (just address The United Nations, New York, N. Y.) and the Secretariat will be glad to send you one. In this study we have deliberately kept to a minimum this account of the machinery through which the U.N. functions. We believe that Americans who are trying to decide on the merits of the U.N. are not primarily interested in its mechanics. What they ask is whether the mechanics work.

What the U.N. Is Up Against

DOES the U.N. work? That's the question Americans want answered. There is a widespread impression that all the U.N. does is talk. Perhaps the "Town Meeting of the World" characterization has fostered that idea. Town meetings talk. And the U.N. talks. But does the U.N. do more than talk? Is it true that when the chips are down, when it is confronted by a real crisis—such as Korea—or a real dilemma—such as trying to control atomic weapons—the U.N. can do nothing but talk?

Already we have seen that this is not true. The U.N. talks a lot. Sometimes the talk is largely a play to the propaganda galleries; sometimes it clears the way for action. At any time when hustling Americans are tempted to complain about the U.N.'s habit of talking they can profitably remind themselves that talk is preferable to shooting. But the U.N. does more than talk.

The U.N., as we noted, got the Russian troops out of Iran. It helped to get the British and French troops out of Syria and Lebanon. It stopped the fighting in Indonesia, in Palestine and in Kashmir. It brought independence to Libya. It helped Greece free its northern borders from Communist guerrillas. It took the first collective action in history against the Communist aggression in Korea. It has fed millions of hungry mothers and children. It has shown dozens of regions with low living standards how to increase their food production or the goods they manufacture. It has wiped malaria out in large regions, and is cutting down on T.B. and a number of other menaces to the world's health. It is improving schools—largely by showing how to train better teachers—in many backward regions and it is wrestling with the problem of democratic self-government by pushing literacy campaigns wherever the illiteracy handicap is high.

These are all things that the U.N. has done, or is doing. No fair-minded person, we believe, can look at such a record and say that the U.N. does nothing but talk. On the contrary, when one thinks back about the sort of world this has been since the end of World War II—the bitterness, the poverty, the suspicion, the rivalries, the threats and the armed invasions—one should be impressed by the fact that the U.N. has accomplished as much as it has in these eight years. Eight years is a short time in which to try to straighten out this tough old world!

Nevertheless, the U.N. has *not* accomplished as much as its founders hoped it would when they formed it back in 1945. It has tried to do some things and failed. Some other things that many would have liked to see it do it has not even attempted, because it knew it could not. And a number of tasks it has tackled have not been carried through to completion; they may end in success or in failure. These are the failures, or partial failures, in the U.N.'s record. In the next section of this study we will list them more fully.

FAIRNESS, however, requires that in appraising these failures one take into account what the U.N. is up against. Let's consider some of these things with which it must contend.

For one thing, it is up against a world that is not at peace. When the United Nations was formed—while the war was still going on in the Pacific and before the first atomic bomb hit Hiroshima—the plan adopted for it was based on an assumption. That assumption was that the major nations which had been fighting the Axis would write peace treaties with their defeated enemies, and *then* the U.N. would take over the peace thus made and maintain it. But the victor nations did not make those peace treaties. They made one, with Italy. Years later (in 1952) some of them made another, with Japan. But Russia did not sign that treaty. No peace treaty has ever been signed with Germany or Austria.

This may look like a technicality, but for the U.N. it is more than that. It means that there never has been a formal, legal peace, covering the whole area of the Second World War, for the U.N. to preserve. In other words, the premise on which the U.N. was founded has never existed in actuality. Quite a handicap, that!

Instead of a peace to maintain, what kind of world has this been during these years in which the U.N. has been struggling to gain a grip on the international situation? It has been one in which the U.N. itself has been internally divided by the East-West struggle. Russia and the free world have been on the very edge of an open break time and time again. Czechoslovakia and Hungary have been pulled into the Russian orbit. China has been overrun by Red armies. The Republic of Korea has been attacked. The Communist bloc of nations—usually five votes—has been voted down again and again in the various agencies of the U.N., but always it has stayed in there doing all it could to thwart the will of the majority and to throw as many monkey-wrenches into the U.N. machinery for keeping the peace as it could lay hands on. The cold war has been the most omnipresent, as well as the most dangerous, fact in the day-by-day life of the world.

The Communist nations in the United Nations have never shown any intention of leaving the international body. (On a few occasions they have walked out of U.N. agencies. They have lived to regret it, and are today seeking to join certain agencies.) But there never has been a time when they have not seemed to want to do everything possible to reduce the U.N. to futility. Their role has too often been that of a wrecking crew. Some handicap!

Another thing the U.N. has had to struggle against has been a natural but touchy pride felt by young nations, newly independent, which are determined that no one shall cast a shadow on their independent sovereignty. When they show an intention to do as they please, it is to prove that no one can make them do otherwise. In dealing with these nations the U.N. has had to show patience, caution and great understanding of their national pride. That has been the case in dealing with India and Pakistan over Kashmir. It was the case in Palestine. It is the case today when President Syngman Rhee of the Republic of Korea adds so many complications to the effort to work out a peace in Korea.

THE U.N. has likewise been forced to reckon with national fears. Take the attempt to promote world disarmament as an illustration. Everybody

wants disarmament. The nations want it because they need to use the billions they are spending on arms for more constructive purposes. Their citizens want it because they are carrying a tax burden which all but breaks their backs. Governments and people alike dread the outcome of the armament race—particularly the race in atomic and thermonuclear (hydrogen) weapons. One of the purposes of the U.N., as set down in its Charter, is to secure disarmament, and a U.N. commission has been working at that task almost from the start.

It has failed to get to first base. Why? Because every proposal so far made has involved opening the plants in which A-bombs, H-bombs and bacteriological weapons could be produced to international inspection. The prospect that Russian members of a U.N. inspection team might come prying around our American munitions plants, ferreting out our secrets, frightens us as much as the prospect of American inspectors on a U.N. team in the Soviet Union frightens the Russians. Here again is another unwelcome fact of today's international life which the U.N. has so far found no way to get around.

Furthermore, the U.N. has to reckon with a world condition which, for want of a better name, may be called national self-centeredness. By that we have in mind the habit of nations—and their people—to think almost exclusively in terms of what seem to be their own immediate interests and not to admit that others also have interests which must be taken into account.

Here is something which bobs up almost every time the U.N. proposes some kind of negotiation. For example, what happens when the United States considers negotiating with the Reds over Korea? Our representatives outline a list of our demands. They look to us like reasonable and just demands. But the other side also has its demands. Now, negotiation implies give-and-take. It means making concessions to gain concessions. But this seems to some appeasement, and to others surrender. These are the people who are always afraid that every negotiation is a trap in which the slightest concession will be a betrayal of the national interest.

This state of mind is not peculiar to the U.S.A. It is even more evident in the Communist countries. It leads to conducting international relations on a basis of "Do as I say, or else—" There is far too much of this state of mind left in this unhappy world to make the conciliation efforts of the U.N. easy. It always has to be conceded that a nation, or nations, not in a conciliatory mood constitutes a nearly insuperable obstacle to conciliation. The U.N. is trying to foster that mood—not an easy or quick job.

THE United Nations also has to reckon with the impulse, strong in the strong nations, to go it alone, to do things by themselves which might better be done through the international organization. There is a reason for this. Often it is more difficult to do things working with and through others than to do them alone. The opposing ideas, the hestitations, what sometimes seems the downright orneriness of the others, have to be taken into account. Who was it said that "the best committee for getting things done is a committee of two, with the other member out of town"?

The same principle often seems to apply in world affairs. A nation which feels strong enough to do a particular job prefers to do it alone, thus not being bothered with collaborators and alone gaining the credit for whatever is accomplished. The disinclination of the United States and of the British Commonwealth to merge their Point IV and Colombo plans in the U.N.'s Technical Assistance program illustrates what we have in mind.

Sometimes national legislatures, which have to appropriate the funds by which the U.N. operates, think it costs too much. We will consider the U.N. budget later, and will show that in actuality the cost is amazingly low when compared with the costs of national governments or when measured against the importance of the issues with which the U.N. deals. But these legislatures are always under pressure to hold down expenditures. If they don't, they know they will hear from the taxpayers except in those countries where the taxpayers have nothing to say beyond a very occasional small groan, discreetly muffled.

Since the U.N. does not swing blocks of votes in national elections, the temptation is strong for national legislatures to cut appropriations to the U.N. to the lowest possible point at which the international body can keep functioning at all. The U.N. therefore never has the money it would require to do all the things it should do in the way they should be done. It does not complain about this, for it knows how governments work. Yet this, too, is a tough fact it will always have to take into account.

One more difficulty which confronts the U.N. is public apathy. Perhaps apathy is too strong a word, but no better one occurs to mind. There are too many people in all the U.N. member-nations who pay little attention and show little interest until some big international crisis bursts on the front pages of the papers and howls over the radio. Then they are likely to begin shouting, "Why has the U.N. let this happen? Why doesn't the U.N. straighten this out?"

Almost certainly, the U.N. will be doing its level best to straighten out whatever the trouble is, and has been at work to keep it from developing into a major contention. But the U.N. cannot do much to guide the nations toward a peaceful solution of their problems beyond what world public opinion supports. When the delegates know that the public is watching, and not only watching but getting ready to support measures that make for peace, then the U.N. is likely to function most nearly as it is supposed to function. But one thing too often lacking is this sort of intelligent public attention and support in times of what might be called normal U.N. activity, and not simply when some great excitement is stirring the nations.

THESE, of course, are not all the difficulties the U.N. has been up against ever since its birth. But these are some of them. They are enough, we believe, to suggest that although there have been U.N. failures—plenty of them—its achievements, in the light of its difficulties, have been considerable.

These are days of world upheaval. That is so obvious, and has been said so often, that many do not listen when it is said again. The efficient functioning of the U.N. has been badly handicapped by the various forces let loose by the world upheaval. They will continue to affect and to some degree hamper its operations as long as any who read these words remain alive. But the thing which impresses us as we study the record is that, through these wild eight years past, the U.N. has kept alive; it has grown in membership; it has been called on by the nations to deal with increasingly difficult and dangerous issues; and little by little the United Nations has moved toward becoming an indispensable factor in world affairs. "A sheer necessity," President Eisenhower called it.

One who knew the record well summed it up in these words: "One hour after Trygve Lie arrived in the United States as Secretary-General of the United Nations, in March 1946, the Ambassador of Iran handed him the complaint of his country against the presence of Soviet troops in its territory.

From that moment the United Nations has lived in constant crisis—Iran, Greece, Indonesia, atomic energy, Palestine, Berlin, Korea, China. In every crisis there were plenty of voices to say: either you settle this one quickly or the organization is dead. It is still alive and still in the midst of crisis."[5] Probably for all the years of this generation the United Nations will continue to live in the midst of crisis. Perhaps for as long as it exists.

Where the U.N. Has Failed

"THE United Nations is a failure." That's the verdict some Americans pass on it—flat, sweeping, final. Is it a reasonable verdict? Would it not be more in accord with the record to say that the U.N. has failed to do some things we wish it had done? The staunchest supporters of the U.N., including members of its Secretariat, will agree that the organization has had failures as well as successes. In evaluating the worth of the body, however, the relative importance of these is what needs to be considered. Have the failures outweighed the accomplishments? You be the judge.

A year ago Walter W. Van Kirk, who is known to millions of American churchmen as the man who has done more than any other to interpret world affairs to the churches, wrote a straight-shooting booklet on the U.N. As executive director of the Department of International Justice and Goodwill of the National Council of Churches, Dr. Van Kirk did a fine job of telling "the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth" about this world body as he watches it close at hand and every day. He said without hedging: "The U.N. has had its failures. Otherwise the fear of a Third World War would not be so widely prevalent." That is a just conclusion.[6]

Dr. Van Kirk listed four major failures which must be set down on the debit side of the U.N. balance sheet. The first was its failure to stop the cold war. It still hasn't stopped it. When they signed the U.N. Charter all the member-states promised to "practice tolerance and live together in peace with one another as good neighbors." In the light of what has happened since the nations took that pledge, that's a laugh—a bitter laugh.

The world has divided between the Communist nations and the free world nations, and the U.N. has divided in the same way. The U.N. Charter says, as Dr. Van Kirk recalled, that the U.N. is to be "a center for harmonizing the action of nations." Only on rare occasions has it been that. On the contrary, the U.N. has often been a means of showing how deep are the divisions between nations and how unfriendly their feelings toward one another. There are reasons for this for which the U.N. is not responsible. That, however, does not alter the fact. The cold war goes on, always threatening to become a hot world war, and the U.N. has not been able to stop it.

NEXT Dr. Van Kirk spoke of the U.N.'s failure to induce the nations to disarm or to reduce their armaments. Along with that of course goes its failure to lead them to agree on any method to control the new and terrible methods of warfare which, as Sir Winston Churchill says, "cast their shadow on every thoughtful mind." For all its life the U.N. has been trying to end the nightmare arms race. It has a Disarmament Commission which has instructions to prepare proposals which would provide absolutely dependable information as to the size and nature of the armed forces and of the armaments of every nation, effective international inspection of those forces and their arms, and some workable system to insure that once disarmament procedures had been pledged the pledges would be fulfilled.

The U.N. Commission has not failed to carry out these instructions for want of trying. Nevertheless, it has failed. It has not even been able to bring disarmament plans to a point of sufficient clarity and possible agreement where it would be worth while to call its members into conference to consider them. That certainly looks like nearly total failure.

Third in his list of failures Dr. Van Kirk placed the U.N.'s abortive efforts to work out a system of collective security for its members. The Korea experience did not solve this problem. True, there was collective action against Communist aggression in Korea. But most of this was action taken by only the troops of two nations, the Republic of Korea (South Korea) and the United States. Many of the member-states were not willing to take even token action.

The issue of collective security is so important that we will consider it in a separate section. But no one will deny that it is a problem which has not yet been solved. This means that up to now the attempt by the U.N. to provide a system of collective security which the nations can trust for their protection has been a failure.

FINALLY, in his list of failures Dr. Van Kirk came to the veto. This, as we have seen, is the right which any of the five permanent members of the Security Council (China, France, Britain, Russia and the U.S.A.) has to stop any action by that body against which it casts its vote. The Soviet Union has used its veto dozens of times, and China—which in the U.N. means the Nationalist government on Formosa—has threatened to resort to its veto many times. A threat of that kind is usually as effective in tying up the Security Council as an actual veto. Do not put this down as a stumbling-block for the U.N. contrived solely by Russia, for it is by no means certain that the U.S. Senate would agree to allow this nation to deal with the Communists in the Security Council unless the U.S. delegate likewise continued to be armed with the veto.

The veto stops the U.N. Security Council from doing many things most U.N. members would favor. It has thwarted the efforts of the U.N. again and again. But while the Charter remains as it is—and no one thinks it can be changed at this point, for changing the Charter is itself subject to the veto—this is a problem unsolved.

BECAUSE Dr. Van Kirk was writing a very compressed pamphlet, despite the candor with which he named some U.N. failures he did not name all of them. Here are a few more which, even in a partial study, seem to us should be added.

Not to make the picture more black than it really is, consider first one or two instances in which the U.N. has achieved a partial success, where the present failure may still be turned into a complete success. Palestine and Kashmir are examples. In both, a cease-fire and a truce line have been established. That was an important achievement, for the wars starting in both places could have developed into major wars which might have involved many nations, including the United States. But in neither Palestine nor Kashmir has a firm peace been gained. In both, the danger of a renewal of fighting continues.

In Palestine, this danger is intensified by the 800,000 Arab refugees who exist in misery around the borders of

Israel. Nothing has worked yet to solve the problem of those Palestine refugees. They have but one thought—to get back to the homes in Israel from which they fled more than four years ago. In their hatred for the Israelis and their despair they form an active focus of trouble in the Near East.

Success may still crown the efforts of the U.N. to bring peace to Kashmir and Palestine. If it does not, as in the case of disarmament it will not be because the U.N. has not tried by every means that seemed available to gain peace. So far, however, it has gained only a truce; so far, failure must be acknowledged in everything beyond that.

The Korea story may turn out to be the same. But it is too early to tell, for as this is written the U.N. is still in the midst of its maddening negotiations with the Communists, trying to turn another cease-fire into a peace. In trying to solve that problem, account must be taken of Syngman Rhee as well as the Communists.

TUNISIA and Morocco are at least partial failures. Its Arab members have tried to induce the United Nations to call on France to grant those two North African protectorates independence. Unquestionably they are more ready for freedom than was Libya, the former Italian colony which the U.N. started off as an independent nation in 1951. And the growing unrest in both protectorates constitutes an undeniable threat to world peace.

Nevertheless, the most the U.N. has dared to do is to provide a platform from which the Tunisian and Moroccan nationalists could tell their story to the world and to adopt some toothless resolutions expressing hope that France would bring both rapidly along to self-government. Perhaps the fact that the U.N. heard the case of the two North African protectorates even though France stalked out of the sessions—and threatened to do worse—can be regarded as a minor achievement. In the old, pre-U.N. days Tunisia and Morocco would have had nowhere to make their appeal except to the fortunes of armed revolt. But the festering sore of these two spots remains, and it marks another U.N. failure.

The U.N. has failed to induce the Nationalist government of the Union of South Africa, headed by that iron-willed Boer, the Rev. Dr. Daniel F. Malan, to abandon its *apartheid* policies. It has carried out a careful study of the segregation of races which Dr. Malan's government has made the cornerstone of its policy. In a voluminous report it predicts that this will lead to tragedy in the African future. But the resolutions it has passed have seemed only to confirm the intention of the government of South Africa to go forward in its trouble-breeding way.

Another failure has to be admitted in the effort to bring the Union of South Africa to acknowledge that it must ask the U.N. for the right to administer the old League mandate of South West Africa, and must report to the U.N. on its stewardship of that responsibility. South Africa argued that case before the International Court of Justice, but the verdict given there was not a clear one and South Africa had already served notice that it would not be bound by it. All attempts by the U.N. to establish its final authority over South West Africa—which are really attempts to protect the natives against the harshness of the Malan government's racial policies—have failed.

FAILURE has plagued the efforts of the U.N. to induce many of the nations — conspicuously the United States—to ratify the genocide treaty. This is the treaty which defines genocide —the mass killing of great groups of people because of their race, religion, nationality or ethnic origins—as a crime under international law punishable in the courts of the nation where the crime is alleged to have taken place. The genocide treaty has been ratified by 42 nations and is in effect among them. But the U.N. has failed to persuade the United States to ratify. (And this even though the U.S. delegation in November of this year voted for a resolution in the Assembly which exhorted all nations that have not ratified to hurry up and do so!) American action on the genocide treaty at present seems stalled.

The U.N. has called on its four member-states with occupation forces in Austria to speed up conclusion of a peace treaty with that unhappy little country. Result to date: failure.

Perhaps as regrettable as any is the U.N.'s failure to work out the question of admitting new members. If the United Nations is to achieve its full stature and shoulder all the responsibilities which it should, it needs to become the United *Nations*. That is to say, it should have in its membership every nation which wants to join and is willing to accept the obligations of membership laid down in the Charter. At the start, it looked as though the U.N. would soon achieve this universality, when its original membership of 51 quickly mounted to 60 nations.

Here again, however, the split between East and West, aided by the veto in the Security Council—which must pass on all applicants for membership —has blocked off the desired end. There are 14 nations applying for membership whom the Western nations would like to vote in. Among them are such important European states as Italy, Portugal, Ireland and Finland; such important Asian states as Japan, Ceylon and Jordan. There are seven states, all Communist, whom the Soviet Union is pushing for membership. Up to the present, Russia has continued to blackball our candidates and we have paid her back by blackballing hers. (The case of Communist China is not included here. Clearly, such membership cannot be considered so long as Red China is at war with the U.N.) So a stalemate exists on the matter of membership. While it exists, the need of the U.N. to attain universality is being ignored. This, too, must be accounted another U.N. failure.

What About Collective Security?

AT this point it is necessary to look at what some regard as the U.N.'s worst failure, and what certainly is its most controversial aspect. That is its effort to provide collective security for its members against the danger of war.

There are 111 articles in the Charter of the United Nations. Of these, articles 33 to 54 inclusive provide for the settlement of disputes between nations. These are the "collective security" articles, and many will say that they constitute the essence of the U.N. It was to set up this system of guaranteeing peace for its members, they insist, that the U.N. was formed. And if the system outlined in these articles is not working, then the U.N. is not working. The whole thing is a failure and a fraud.

Oh yes, they will admit, the U.N. may be doing any number of other admirable things. It may be relocating refugees and protecting the rights of natives in African jungles and showing Pakistan farmers how to head off another wheat crop failure. All these enterprises are good, but they are not vital. Vital, that is, to the future of the U.N. and of world peace. Nor are they

vital to the security of the United States. The United Nations will be judged by its ability to protect its members from another world war. It will stand or fall by its ability to provide collective security.

When men talk this way they generally have in mind, in speaking of collective security, *military* security. They picture the United Nations as a great alliance in which the member-nations pool their military strength to keep the world's peace. Such an alliance would be so strong, if it held together, that no potential aggressor would dare challenge it. Aggression would be foredoomed to defeat, and so probably would never be tried. If it were tried, it would be sternly suppressed at the point where it occurred, and so would not develop into a world war. That, it is said, is what the U.N. is supposed to do. If it doesn't do this, it is worthless.

(Strangely enough, many Americans who have talked in this way about the responsibility of the U.N. to provide collective military security have been most bitter in their criticisms of the U.N. for the heavy losses in Korea. That was one instance in which the U.N. tried to work in the way it is said it should. It did so successfully, at least to the extent of stopping aggression in its tracks and driving it back beyond its jumping-off point. But doing so cost many lives—and the U.N. is excoriated for that. All of which is simply another reminder that few of us are as logical beings as we like to think we are.)

WHAT can be said about the U.N. system for providing collective security? First of all, it is not *primarily* a system of military action. Out of the 22 articles in the Charter which outline this system, the first six provide for what is called "the pacific settlement of disputes." These require that "the parties to any dispute . . . shall, first of all, seek a solution by negotiation, enquiry, mediation, conciliation, arbitration, judicial settlement, resort to regional agencies or arrangements, or other peaceful means of their own choice." Here is a wide range of action to preserve peace which has nothing military about it. Any or all of these means are to be used before the proposal to use armed force is to be considered. Yet all these are truly a part of the U.N.'s collective security system. They are, it is fair to say, the normally employed part of that system.

Take that matter of mediation as an example. Twice now in its brief history the United Nations has used mediation to halt what threatened to develop into wars which could have engulfed the world. The first time was in Palestine. Mediation looked almost hopeless when it was attempted there. The first U.N. mediator, Count Folke Bernadotte of Sweden, was assassinated. When Dr. Ralph J. Bunche took over the task, at first he could not induce the representatives of the Arabs and the Israelis to shake hands or to enter the same room.

But the U.N. mediator would not give up, knowing that behind the Arabs who were fighting in Palestine there stretched a tense Arab world all the way from Morocco in the northwest corner of Africa to Indonesia in the southeast corner of Asia—an Arab world which would almost certainly be drawn into the war if it continued. And if that happened, then other nations, with their interests in the eastern Mediterranean and the Middle East, would follow. The possibility of a Third World War was grim and growing.

Finally, by even-handed dealing, by patience and by superb statesmanship Count Bernadotte won a truce-line dividing the belligerents. True, it is a precarious truce and there have been raids back and forth across the truce-line. But it is *not* the Third World War. That is what counts.

Right now another U.N. effort at mediation is going on. This is being handled by a mediation team headed by Dr. Frank Graham, who gained fame as president of the University of North Carolina and was briefly a U.S. senator. India and Pakistan were on the verge of an all-out war over the disposition of Kashmir when India brought the question to the U.N. It would have been a bloody war, for there are issues of religion as well as ethnic rivalries involved. Nearly 500 million people would have been fighting in that war at its start, and you cannot have that many at war without probably involving many, many more. Kashmir could easily have brought on a Third World War—as easily as Palestine.

The U.N. mediation has not yet solved the Kashmir problem. But it has gained a truce, and it has brought the heads of the Indian and Pakistan governments closer and closer together in peaceful discussions. There is still a possibility of failure, but there is a much greater possibility—by now it is a probability—of a successful outcome for the negotiations, and peace. Surely the continuation of the negotiations, long as they are proving and hard as they are on the nerves of all concerned, is better than the terrible alternative.

U.N. conciliation helped to head off all-out war in Indonesia and to secure the recognition of the independent republic there, together with its admission to the United Nations.

All these peaceful methods, we repeat, come first in applying the U.N. system of collective security. And they work! At least, they *have* worked several times and under discouraging circumstances within the brief span of eight years.

BUT the Charter goes on to provide that, if peaceful methods do not suffice to settle disputes, the Security Council can act. It can impose "complete or partial interruption of economic relations and of rail, sea, air, postal, telegraphic, radio and other means of communication, and the severance of diplomatic relations." If this doesn't work, "it may take such action by air, sea or land forces as may be necessary to maintain or restore international peace and security." If for some reason it does not want to take such action with the forces of all the nations, it can act through the forces of regional associations approved by the U.N., such as the North Atlantic Treaty Organization.

There would seem to be plenty of deterring factors here for any would-be aggressor to take into account. But this, experience has shown, is the part of the collective security system about which most doubts cluster. Why?

For one reason, any major action, such as a military measure, requires unanimous action in the Security Council by the five powers with a veto. That is seldom available in the present world situation. In the case of Korea it was available only because the Soviet Union was boycotting sessions of the Council at the time North Korea attacked.

Second, because the elaborate scheme for a U.N. army, which is outlined in the Charter, is one which the member-states have so far refused to carry beyond the paper stage—and there is no indication that they ever will go farther.

Third, because nations cannot be expected to risk the lives of their citizens in fighting where their own interests are not clearly involved.

And last, because any attempt by the U.N. to apply collective military measures against a major power would be another world war, no matter what persuasive name might be given it. If the military measures proposed in the Charter were ever invoked against a major power, the U.N. would be wrecked.

It is for such reasons that many individuals and some nations do not believe in the reality of the military

security offered by the United Nations. In 1947 John Foster Dulles wrote an article for The Christian Century which revealed his skepticism.[7] Mr. Dulles was not then secretary of state, but he had been a member of the U.S. delegation at the San Francisco conference where the U.N. Charter was adopted. Here are some of the things he said:

> Some consider that the United Nations has proved to be an almost complete failure. . . . Those who wanted an organization with "teeth" see that the only teeth yet possessed by the U.N. are paper teeth. . . . Speaking in November 1944 before the Federal Council of Churches I said . . . that while the Security Council could be useful as "a forum where controversial matters are discussed, where public opinion may focus its pressures, . . . the force proposals are little more than scenery."

There is less chance today for collective military action by the whole membership of the United Nations than there was when it was formed. That is why those who think the best hope of peace is through amassing overwhelming armed force against a possible aggressor more and more rely on the development of the "regional arrangements," authorized under Article 51 of the Charter. The United States is a party to three of these—NATO, the Pact of Rio de Janeiro and the ANZUS (Australia, New Zealand, U.S.A.) pact.

This is not to deny the possibility that, against minor offenders or in limited local situations, the U.N. might occasionally find it possible to deal with threats to the peace through police action. But the critics who hold that the U.N. is a failure unless it is ready at the drop of a hat to suppress any aggressor are not thinking about something on the scale of an invasion of Costa Rican villages by Nicaraguan guerrillas. And it must also be borne in mind that "police actions" cannot always be kept within their intended limits. Remember Korea.

Summing up, therefore, we believe that it is a mistake to expect much in the way of maintaining peace from collective military action by the U.N. Something may be contributed to that cause by the restraining powers of regional agreements. More is to be hoped for from the "mediation, conciliation, arbitration and judicial settlement" of Article 33. But the great hope for the future lies in the development of the General Assembly as an agency for inquiry, discussion and the promotion of negotiation. Especially of negotiation.

In the Service of Humanity

TO SEE the United Nations at its best, one should watch it when it gets down where the human problems of survival and development are most harassing and works at solving those problems in man-to-man terms. When the U.N. is trying to deal with the big political problems of nations, there are times it seems baffled and weak. But when it tackles the misfortunes of human beings it shows a remarkable ability to provide all kinds of practical help in an efficient, inconspicuous and astonishingly inexpensive way. This is the sort of thing it is doing every day of the year.

Surprisingly little is known by most Americans about this aspect of the U.N., perhaps because it is another instance in which the old analogy of the iceberg applies. Nine-tenths of an iceberg is never seen, but that is the part ocean navigators have to take into account. In much the same way, the part of the United Nations which operates most constantly and successfully to reduce human distress, and thus to ward off the international trouble which rises out of it, is far below the surface of the sensational headlines in the newspapers.

While this study was in preparation, for example, the press was filled with accounts of international crises involving the U.N. which were gravely testing its capacity. In Korea the effort to get a peace conference under way and to dispose of the prisoners who had said they did not want to be repatriated seemed hopelessly snarled. In Palestine it looked as though fighting might break out again along the U.N. truce line almost any day. In Trieste mobs were howling in the streets and Yugoslavia and Italy making threats. The world picture, as the press printed it without exaggeration, was very black. No one could be blamed for wondering whether the U.N. could cope with it.

But while these political crises were being debated in the Assembly, the Security Council and in various standing committees, that was far from all the U.N. was doing. While the diplomats glowered and occasionally shouted and sometimes even shook verbal fists at one another, the constructive, under-the-surface humanly helpful work of the U.N. went steadily forward. Here, for instance, are some of the other things which took place in U.N. operations *during only three days* while the Korea-Palestine-Trieste crises boiled.

TWENTY-ONE more nations pledged financial help for the technical assistance program, of which more will be said a few paragraphs farther on. Some of these nations had never given to this cause before; the others almost without exception increased their pledges. Representatives of 37 organizations met under U.N. auspices to work out plans to ease difficulties in migration, with special attention given to ways of helping the Arab refugees who can be admitted to the United States under recent legislation. Experts from Mexico, El Salvador, Costa Rica, Guatemala, Colombia, Venezuela, Haiti and Jamaica were invited to a conference on the training of community workers to be held in Bogota in December 1953.

The chairman of the Costa Rican delegation signed the protocol for the suppression of the international opium traffic, making the 22nd country to join this coordinated campaign to end an ancient human curse. The U.S.S.R. turned in its report for the *Yearbook on Human Rights* to show what had been done to protect such rights—they are outlined in the U.N.'s Declaration of Human Rights, concerning which more presently—in Byelorussia and the Ukraine. The U.N. received and referred to its Economic and Social Council 173 communications alleging that religious persecution was taking place in Poland. Other communications, handled in the same way, alleged violation of human rights in Austria, Cyprus, Hungary, India, Peru, Spain, Russia and Yugoslavia. There were four such communications, which would be considered later, charging invasion of the rights of conscientious objectors in European countries.

One of these days brought to its close a four-day session of the Committee of Ministers of Economics of the Central American Republics. They had adopted resolutions regarding future technical assistance to their countries, for improving transportation, creating a school of public administration to provide trained civil servants for their governments, and providing a uniform system of customs nomenclature. They had also established a committee to study unification of their customs procedure —something for which any American exporter to Central America or any American traveler passing from one to

another of those republics should give three rousing cheers. Before adjourning the committee changed its name to the Committee on Economic Cooperation in the Central American Isthmus. If it lives up to its new name, this body which the U.N. has fostered will bring a genuine advance in this field of world trade.

Throughout one of these days various U.N. delegations and members of the Secretariat held a briefing conference for 230 United States army officers from the War College at Carlisle Barracks, giving them information on the world picture as it looked from the vantage-point of the international organization. On the same day, also, the U.N. published 11 books (including the *Yearbook of International Trade Statistics* which is invaluable to all Americans who trade overseas) and 12 special bulletins, plus 11 official records of its proceedings in English, French, Russian and Chinese.

There is a condensed list of some of the things that were happening at the U.N., or under its auspices, during just three typical days. Probably not a single one of these was mentioned in the press or over the radio. But every one was of genuine importance. And this takes no account of the services which were being rendered during those three days by more than a thousand technical experts and advisers who, in more than fifty countries, were showing the inhabitants how to guard their health, improve their housing, increase the amount and quality of their food, lift their educational standards, prepare their young men and young women for high-grade government service or to carry through many kinds of needed community enterprises.

IF you look at a chart of the United Nations organization you will see boxes which designate 24 subsidiary and affiliated bodies. These work with the third major organ of the U.N., its Economic and Social Council. This ranks right along with the General Assembly and the Security Council, and it is possible that as the years pass it may become more helpful than either of the others in securing the sort of world where wars will not always be threatening. Not all these humanitarian, technological and financial organizations can be listed or discussed here. Since they are commonly referred to by their initials, they are the agencies that make up what the jokesters have called the U.N.'s "alphabet soup."

But in that part of the world where a billion people never have enough to eat, where the average yearly income is under $50, where a child at birth has scarcely one-third the life expectancy it would have had if it had been lucky enough to be born in the United States, where preventable diseases still rage almost unchecked and where illiteracy still condemns most of the population to poverty and hopelessness—in such places the U.N. "alphabet soup" is no joke. On the contrary, it is the brightest promise on the horizon for the underdeveloped nations and their people. Henry Ford II, a member of the American delegation, knew this when he said that on "these grass root functions the United Nations may well stand or fall."

WHAT do these organizations of the Economic and Social Council do? Take what the U.N. calls its "Expanded Program of Technical Assistance" as an example. Most Americans have heard of "Point IV," the program of their government for helping the development of less fortunate countries by supplying technological assistance and some financial help. But how many know that through the U.N.'s technical assistance program over 60 nations—are working to build and safeguard peace in an international effort of the Point IV variety? This is the work of the Technical Assistance Administration and its related specialized agencies.

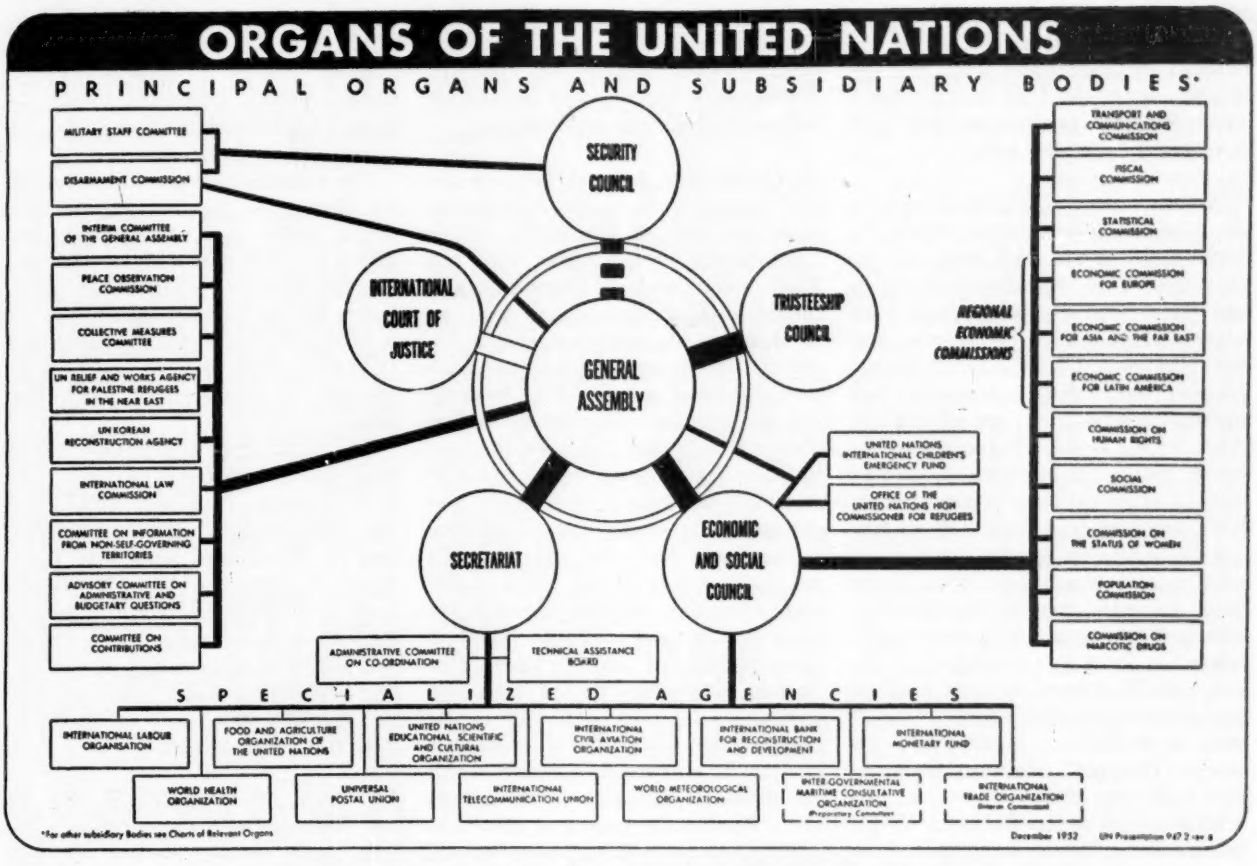
The Expanded Technical Assistance Program—we might as well save space by calling it ETAP hereafter—operates on a very simple plan. Any nation which has a problem affecting its people's livelihood or living conditions can apply to the U.N. for help. The U.N. never goes where it is not asked. In almost every case, the nation aided bears most of the local expense. When it goes, it usually sends only a few technicians to size up the situation and to make recommendations. Then, if the government launches pilot projects, the U.N. will supply experts to help get these running properly. At the same time, it will help train people on the spot to carry on when the pilot projects are expanded into national programs. The idea is for the U.N. to recruit the technological knowledge of the world to help nations and regions use the resources of manpower and of materials they already possess to gain the improvements in living which hitherto have eluded them because of their lack of what Americans call "know-how."

That's the theory. How does the theory work out in practice? Well, Afghanistan asked the U.N. if it could do anything to help stop the famines which periodically afflicted that country tucked away in the mountains of central Asia. So TAA sent a Haitian agricultural expert at the head of a small team. He was picked because it was felt that his experience in a relatively simple agricultural society would fit Afghanistan's situation. He showed the Afghans how to increase their cotton crop two-and-a-half times and how to harvest their grain in a fifth of the time it was consuming, thus making possible the cultivation of much more land. How did he do it? By bringing in tractors and combination reaper-binders? Nothing of the sort. He showed how much more effective a scythe is than a sickle, a hoe than a mattock, and planting cotton properly instead of in the haphazard way it had been done. That was all, but it brought an economic revolution to Afghanistan! All it took was maybe half a dozen U.N. technical advisers with most of their local expenses joyously paid by the Afghans.

HAITI sent an expert to help the Afghans. But Haiti herself asked for help. Her people were suffering from lack of the higher proteins in their diet. Where did ETAP find the technical assistance Haiti needed? In Indonesia! For centuries Indonesia has developed fish-farming, often raising the fish to supply needed protein to supplement its basic rice diet right along with the rice in the wet paddy fields. So the Indonesian "know-how" is now being applied to the dietary needs of Haiti and of Thailand, and soon will be to those of Israel. Fish can be raised cheaply; they will make up for many countries' most pressing nutritional needs; no elaborate machinery or great army of experts is required. In fact, most of the U.N. help in this matter has been extended by granting "fellowships" to a few Haitians, Thais and Israelis to go to Indonesia and learn on the spot how fish-farming is done.

Something was said in the preceding paragraph about rice. That is the basic food for nearly half the world's population—the hungriest half. Growing more rice has become a matter of life or death for millions of Asians, since the population of that teeming continent has increased by more than 10 per cent in the past 12 years while rice production is still below the pre-1940 level. Food must now be imported, and when too many begin to starve it must be begged. Sometimes the American gifts, as in the recent case of Pakistan, are accompanied by congressional oratory which does nothing to improve relations.

Space limitations make it impossible to tell the full story of what ETAP is doing to help Asia grow more rice. But


ORGANS OF THE UNITED NATIONS
PRINCIPAL ORGANS AND SUBSIDIARY BODIES*
MILITARY STAFF COMMITTEE
DISARMAMENT COMMISSION
INTERIM COMMITTEE OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY
PEACE OBSERVATION COMMISSION
COLLECTIVE MEASURES COMMITTEE
UN RELIEF AND WORKS AGENCY FOR PALESTINE REFUGEES IN THE NEAR EAST
UN KOREAN RECONSTRUCTION AGENCY
INTERNATIONAL LAW COMMISSION
COMMITTEE ON INFORMATION FROM NON-SELF-GOVERNING TERRITORIES
ADVISORY COMMITTEE ON ADMINISTRATIVE AND BUDGETARY QUESTIONS
COMMITTEE ON CONTRIBUTIONS
SECURITY COUNCIL
INTERNATIONAL COURT OF JUSTICE
GENERAL ASSEMBLY
TRUSTEESHIP COUNCIL
SECRETARIAT
ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL COUNCIL
UNITED NATIONS INTERNATIONAL CHILDREN'S EMERGENCY FUND
OFFICE OF THE UNITED NATIONS HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR REFUGEES
REGIONAL ECONOMIC COMMISSIONS
TRANSPORT AND COMMUNICATIONS COMMISSION
FISCAL COMMISSION
STATISTICAL COMMISSION
ECONOMIC COMMISSION FOR EUROPE
ECONOMIC COMMISSION FOR ASIA AND THE FAR EAST
ECONOMIC COMMISSION FOR LATIN AMERICA
COMMISSION ON HUMAN RIGHTS
SOCIAL COMMISSION
COMMISSION ON THE STATUS OF WOMEN
POPULATION COMMISSION
COMMISSION ON NARCOTIC DRUGS
ADMINISTRATIVE COMMITTEE ON CO-ORDINATION
TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE BOARD
SPECIALIZED AGENCIES
INTERNATIONAL LABOUR ORGANISATION
FOOD AND AGRICULTURE ORGANIZATION OF THE UNITED NATIONS
UNITED NATIONS EDUCATIONAL SCIENTIFIC AND CULTURAL ORGANIZATION
INTERNATIONAL CIVIL AVIATION ORGANIZATION
INTERNATIONAL BANK FOR RECONSTRUCTION AND DEVELOPMENT
INTERNATIONAL MONETARY FUND
WORLD HEALTH ORGANIZATION
UNIVERSAL POSTAL UNION
INTERNATIONAL TELECOMMUNICATION UNION
WORLD METEOROLOGICAL ORGANIZATION
INTER-GOVERNMENTAL MARITIME CONSULTATIVE ORGANIZATION
INTERNATIONAL TRADE ORGANIZATION
*For other subsidiary Bodies see Charts of Relevant Organs
December 1952

AN EFFICIENCY ENGINEER'S PICTURE OF THE UNITED NATIONS

the experiments now under way at the Central Rice Research Station in the state of Orissa, India, quite conceivably can turn most of that continent from a food-deficit to a food-surplus area. Do you see what that could do to the effort of communism to entice hungry Asians? This experimentation is based on the fact that in Japan an acre of rice yields 2,352 pounds, while in India an acre yields only 772 pounds and in Indo-China only 716.

Hybridization seems to be the answer, just as it has been for cereals in the United States. So ETAP, working with the government of India, with the help of the British Commonwealth's Colombo Plan and through its own Food and Agriculture Organization, using experts of all sorts from all over the world, is searching for the hybrid rice which will make all the rice-producing areas of Asia yield as much, or nearly as much, as do the fields of Japan. They haven't found the answer yet, but they are confident they will.

IF there were space we'd tell how the U.N. helped the people of Greece rebuild the roads in their war-scarred country; how it has shown isolated Iran the way to open its communications with the rest of the world by planning modern airfields and training the young men of Iran to handle their intricate equipment; how it is working to show jam-packed Israel ways to build very low-cost "stabilized earth" housing. The stories of ETAP achievements are endless, even though this U.N. program has only been under way since 1950.

In some instances the U.N. has tackled more than a single specialized problem; at the request of certain governments a whole program for government and social improvement has been worked out. Thus at present El Salvador is entertaining 16 experts: a Chilean to advise on social welfare; an American on economics, another American on a survey of family income, another on farm management and two more on health education; a Dane on dairy technology; an Italian on educational administration; a Belgian on grade school education; a Mexican and an American on civil aviation; a Peruvian, a Colombian, a Briton, in addition to the two Americans already listed, on health education; a Mexican on health statistics and a Frenchman on social legislation.

"Jules Verne himself," says a booklet recently published in Switzerland, "would find it hard to imagine that technical assistance could mean that a Haitian coffee specialist went to help Ethiopians to establish a new industry, that an Icelandic marine engineer was invited to give advice [on the designing of fishing boats] in Ceylon, that the new nation Libya, so dependent upon agriculture, borrowed a man from Rhodesia because his training could assist it to set up its first department of agricultural statistics."[8]

THE best thing about all this is not its low cost, though it is astonishing that ETAP costs less than $25 million a year—say, about one-tenth the cost of a single airplane carrier! No, the best thing about it is that it gives all the nations a chance to contribute to the needs of others, as well as a chance to get highly competent help in meeting their own needs.

U.N. technical assistance experts have been sent to 65 countries, and "fellowships" of the sort we saw aided the Haitians to study Indonesian fish-farming have been granted to individuals in 97 countries and territories. But the more significant figure is that 64 countries provided experts of one sort or another to help others, and 76 countries and territories provided study facilities for "fellows" from other lands. U.N. technical assistance is certainly no give-away program. Neither is it tinged

with condescension or the sort of philanthropic self-esteem which sets a recipient's teeth on edge. Technical assistance under the U.N. is a two-way street. Whoever needs expert help gets it, but everybody gives help.

IN thus writing of ETAP it has been necessary to keep the picture simple, and not to try to distinguish all the associated U.N. agencies involved in this joint program. Books have been written about almost every one, and they deserve it. UNESCO (the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization) got off to a bad start, mainly because it couldn't make up its mind what it wanted to do and so tried to do too many things at once. Now, however, it is shaking down into a working organization dealing with immediate and practical problems in its field. Its main concern is education, principally lower school and vocational education. It is just beginning to develop model schools to train teachers for work in primitive regions. One of these at Patzcuaro, Mexico, has 100 teachers from ten Latin American countries in its first classes. The other, just getting started at Sirs-El-Layen, Egypt, will pioneer in teacher training for Arab countries.

For some reason UNESCO has been attacked as an "atheist" organization seeking to undermine "loyalty to the United States" in order to prepare school children for "world citizenship." By world citizenship, these attacks contend that this U.N. agency means a world supergovernment which will displace the United States and all the other governments now in the United Nations. UNESCO has also been accused of being under Communist influence. These attacks have occurred in scattered spots throughout this country, but seem to have been most severe (and scurrilous) in southern California. Generally, those who have made them have seemed to be aiming at UNESCO while really trying to spread distrust of the whole U.N.

So widespread became these attacks, and so unprincipled the whispering campaign which spread them, that President Eisenhower finally appointed a committee to investigate. This, headed by Irving Salomon, a Chicago industrialist, brought in its report in September 1953. Nothing, it said, in the actions, publications or statements of UNESCO, supports the charge that it is atheistic, antireligious, controlled or influenced by communists, trying to establish a world government, undermining the loyalty of Americans to their country or seeking to plant un-American ideas in the minds of our school children. Perhaps the findings of President Eisenhower's investigating committee will lay these slanders finally to rest.

NO account, however brief, of this aspect of the United Nations can omit the work of the World Health Organization. That, along with the Food and Agriculture Organization, is always working alone and with ETAP to clean up the world's disease-ridden regions. Whole areas, for example, have been cleared of malaria where formerly practically every child contracted that disease in babyhood and never got over it. Ever try to work while you had malaria? Ask some of the Pacific war veterans what it's like; they'll tell you.

You never had yaws, did you? No, for that's a skin disease which makes work impossible and life miserable for people in tropical regions. WHO is using penicillin to wipe out yaws. (Frequently, one shot will do it.) The whole outlook on life of a large part of the population of Thailand, for example, is likely to be changed by the time WHO completes its campaign there against yaws. Similar campaigns against T.B. and against the rats and other vermin that carry plagues are also making great headway. One of the U.N. enterprises which seems of most promise is the plants to produce anti-tuberculosis vaccine, penicillin and DDT which WHO —in cooperation with UNICEF—have established at Ankara, Turkey, Quayaquil, Ecuador, and outside Bombay, India.

As a single illustration of what an international organization like WHO can do, see what happened to Dr. Kessler. Dr. Henry H. Kessler, head of the Kessler Institute for Rehabilitation, in West Orange, New Jersey, is one of the most famous doctors in the world in the field of restoring the crippled to physical activity. Yugoslavia, after the war, was full of cripples. There are 80,895 disabled veterans on the war department lists and at least 500,000 others—men, women and children—who were the victims of bombings and the other war terrors. Moreover, the war reduced the number of Yugoslavia's doctors from 16,000 to 6,000, who work with little equipment.

Marshal Tito asked the U.N. for help. Technical assistance turned to WHO. It sent Dr. Kessler to look the situation over. Dr. Kessler told Marshal Tito, after he had made a thorough study, that three things needed to be done: (1) the government should set up an agency to push rehabilitation work for these war victims; (2) three pilot centers to demonstrate the possibilities should be established; (3) various young Yugoslavs should be given TAA fellowships to prepare themselves to carry on the work.

The recommendations were adopted. Dr. Kessler got the first rehabilitation center under way in Belgrade and stayed to instruct its staff and see that its methods were the best known today. Later, he had young Yugoslav doctors in his own institute in New Jersey, and took them with him to assist as he operated in various New Jersey hospitals.

The whole story is a thriller, but in brief what it boils down to is this: The U.N., through TAA and WHO, thus got a whole program for the rehabilitation of the maimed started in Yugoslavia—a program which will presently cover the country, be entirely of, by and for Yugoslavs, and will turn the despair and bitterness of thousands of war victims and their families into hope. Can you beat that for a return on the investment of a few thousands?

THEN there's UNICEF. We deliberately used those initials a few lines above without spelling out their meaning, for UNICEF has become such an accepted symbol of one of the most helpful humanitarian enterprises ever launched that it hardly seems necessary any longer to identify it as the United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund. As a matter of fact, the nations have dropped that "Emergency" out of its title, but habit is so deeply formed that they continue to call it, in alphabetical shorthand, UNICEF.

If the United Nations had not accomplished another thing during its eight years of life, the work done by UNICEF would still entitle it to the gratitude of mankind. The story of what this fund has accomplished is so impressive we regret that in this study we can hardly do more than report that there *is* a United Nations Children's Fund. If any reader wants to know the full story, we hope that he (or she) will send half a dollar to the publications department of the U.N. in New York city for the 1953-54 volume of the *UNICEF Compendium.*

UNICEF "just growed." It started in 1946 when the world began to comprehend the terrible conditions in which the war had left millions of widows and children in the devastated parts of Europe. In the beginning, it did little more than try to get milk for the children, food for the mothers, some kind

of clothing and temporary shelter for all of them. After 1948 it began to do the same things for Palestine refugee mothers and children. Those were the days when this was an "emergency" program, and an emergency it certainly was.

Conservative figures show that UNICEF fed 60 million children milk that otherwise they never would have tasted, vitamin capsules which made up for the dietary lacks which were inescapable, fish-liver oils to keep them from growing up stunted and scrawny burdens on society. It also provided the medicines or vaccines to fight the diseases rampant among these children—diphtheria, tuberculosis, whooping-cough, syphilis. And it provided the same sort of emergency help for the mothers.

As the post-war emergency passed, UNICEF began to turn to long-range programs of benefit to children, especially in underdeveloped countries. For example, instead of shipping dried milk to Yugoslavia for the children orphaned there by the war it shifted its operations to starting a milk-drying and pasteurization industry which gives safe milk from Yugoslavia's own cows. Not only are the children cared for, but the country's dairying industry has greatly enlarged to meet this steady and enlarged market for milk. Thus the country has been helped two ways—with a dairying industry put back on its feet and with a prospect that a generation of future citizens who had bid fair to be small in numbers and stunted in strength will be normal in every respect.

Is this another "global give-away"? Well, hardly. From its start in 1947 to January 1, 1953, UNICEF provided $440 million for child-care projects. Of that sum, the governments where the help was extended gave $267 million. And this does not include the immense amount of voluntary labor which was given by those in the receiving countries who assisted in the distribution of the UNICEF supplies. In some countries, the stimulus given by UNICEF and WHO—they work as a team on medical problems—has increased government health and welfare budgets as much as 300 per cent.

"In the small town of Trebihoth in the Bohemian hills," said Mrs. Oswald B. Lord of the American delegation in a recent speech to the U.N., "I saw the beginning of the vast BCG [tuberculosis vaccine] campaign carried on with the World Health Organization and UNICEF. Children streamed toward the small schoolhouse where a Scandinavian team of a doctor and nurses waited to test and vaccinate the first of over 50 million children who have since been tested and over 22 million who have been vaccinated against T.B. Cost? $1 to test and vaccinate eight children."

That is the financial scale of all the U.N.'s humanitarian enterprises, and the financial policy. Costs kept to a bare minimum; recipient nations to contribute much more than half the costs. By sticking to these rules the current cost of the Expanded Technical Assistance Program runs only $25 million a year, of UNESCO $9 million, of WHO $8.5 million, of UNICEF $23 million. Add them all and you get a total equal to just about one-tenth of 1 per cent of what the United States is spending every year for purposes of military defense.

Here is a defense which consists in winning the confidence and friendship of other peoples by restoring them to health and strength, by wiping out the endemic diseases which have afflicted them, by opening up new opportunities to education, better jobs, better homes, and in scores of other ways. Because this is being done through an international organization in which all bear a hand, there is no resentment against a suspected patronization and there is no fear of a suspected "imperialism" or of control by one big nation or other ulterior political motives.

Yet it is a fact that the Congress of the United States, which voted four times as much for General Franco without bothering to take a roll-call, has shown great reluctance to vote the American share of these small appropriations for the U.N.'s humanitarian agencies. It looked for a time in the spring of 1953 as though the U.S. Congress was about to deprive UNICEF of every cent of American support. Fortunately for America's reputation, that did not happen. Fortunately the present administration has announced that this country intends to go on carrying its full share of the U.N. budget. In what other way could so few dollars contribute so directly to increasing good will, and so to building peace, among the peoples?

In the Service of Freedom

WHEN World War II ended eight years ago 800 million people were still living under the rule of others. Today, 600 million of these have won their independence. That means that about a quarter of the entire human family has gained freedom in the past eight years! Never in history has there been a comparable emancipation.

It is not claimed that the United Nations liberated all these 600 million. It had a hand in bringing about the independence of several of their nations—Libya, Israel, Indonesia—but most of the grants of freedom came from colonial powers which recognized that the era of colonialism is fast ending. What the U.N. has done has been to see that the worldwide movement toward the extension of freedom is not allowed to halt, but is kept pushing toward the day when all nations and peoples shall be free.

Sometimes progress toward that goal is slow. The U.N. has done much to see that it never stops. That it has accomplished as much as it has in so short a time and in so divided a world is a greater achievement than many realize.

How has the United Nations sought to advance the cause of freedom? One way has been through its Commission on Human Rights. This body was formed in 1946. It accepted as its first task the writing of a Universal Declaration of Human Rights. Suggestions poured in from all over the world, but in two years of hard work the commission completed its labors. In December 1948 the Assembly adopted the Declaration without a dissenting vote, although a few Communist delegations abstained from giving it their endorsement.

THE Declaration of Human Rights is too long to quote here. Its noble preamble and its 30 sections, each defining a right of human beings which it is the business of governments to see they can exercise, by now has been translated into 46 languages and distributed by every conceivable means in every part of the world. This formulation of the basic personal, political, civil, economic, social and cultural rights of every living man, woman and child is undoubtedly the most widely known statement the U.N. has ever made. If you have never read it, you should do so.

"But," someone objects, "isn't the Declaration of Human Rights just so many words? Fine-sounding words, to be sure, yet only words. No nation has to pay any attention if it doesn't want to. The nations where the Declaration

is most needed are the ones where it is most ignored. So what good is it?"

It seems to us that the Declaration is worth a great deal, for at least three reasons. First, granted that it represents more aspiration than realization, it is a healthy thing for all the nations to see what their goals should be and to be measured by them. Second, the actual record shows that, although the Declaration is only five years old, it already has had a great influence in the writing of numbers of new constitutions and laws. Offhand we think of the constitutions of Costa Rica, El Salvador, Haiti, Indonesia, Syria and Puerto Rico; of new laws adopted or under consideration in Canada, West Germany, Sweden and Britain.

NOR is that the full story. What may be the final influence of one single episode such as that which Elizabeth Gray Vining, tutor of Japan's crown prince, mentions in her book, *Windows for the Crown Prince?* In the winter of 1950, says Mrs. Vining, she and her pupil took the Declaration of Human Rights "for the center of our study."

The third factor which makes the Declaration important goes back to its adoption. When it was before the U.N. Assembly, Mr. Vishinsky attacked it bitterly on the ground that people do not inherently possess rights—as the American Declaration of Independence asserts they do—but that governments possess rights, by virtue of their sovereignty, which they may grant to their people or withhold as they please. It was the communist philosophy of the nature of government and of the subjection of the citizen to government. Yet in the face of Mr. Vishinsky's impassioned objections, the Assembly went ahead that very day to adopt the Declaration. By that act it committed the United Nations to the proposition that human rights precede and are superior to all others, and that governments may not, without injustice, invade or deny those rights. In other words, it put the U.N. on record squarely against the communist philosophy of government and the rights of man and for the democratic philosophy. That is important!

Since the Universal Declaration of Human Rights was adopted five years ago the U.N.'s commission has been working at another task. It has been trying to write a pair of "covenants," as they are called, which, when and if ratified by the nations, would give the human rights named by the U.N. legal recognition in the ratifying nations. Frankly, this effort has run into difficulties. The trouble is that some nations think the human rights in such covenants should be confined to the kind of political and civil rights which are guaranteed for Americans by our constitutional Bill of Rights, while other members of the U.N. want these covenants to establish a wide range of social and economic rights.

The American position is that while this wide difference of opinion persists as to what rights should be included in the covenants, the U.N. should go slow in trying to push them. Instead, say the American delegates, let the U.N. for a while concentrate on collecting and publishing annual reports from all its members which show exactly what human rights they are protecting. Let experts study efforts that are being made to enlarge human rights in specific places and situations, and where U.N. "technical assistance" can help these efforts along, let it be made available. Thus, eventually, suggest the Americans, a climate of opinion will be created in which there will be fairly general agreement as to what human rights need to be given legal status. Then the covenants can be drawn and will be observed. So great is the influence of the United States in the U.N. that something like this seems likely to be done.

But one convention bearing on human rights the U.N. has adopted. It would grant women who do not now have it the right to vote, the right to run for office and the right to hold office on equal terms with men. More than 20 nations have signed it. The United States apparently does not intend to, perhaps because the women of this nation already possess these rights. For most of the world's women, however, this U.N. convention comes as a "new birth of freedom."

THE other principal means by which the United Nations carries forward the fight to extend human liberty is through its Trusteeship Council. Here is the fourth major agency of the U.N. —Assembly, Security Council, Economic and Social Council, now Trusteeship Council. The work of the Trusteeship Council is concerned with development of 11 "trust territories" which the U.N. administers directly through nations it has chosen. These are former German, Italian or Japanese colonies, some of them once "mandates" of the League of Nations, all now designated for international supervision. Then there are 70 countries or regions which the U.N. speaks of as "non-self-governing territories," but which are really surviving colonies under the old colonial system.

The U.N. Charter provides that the Trusteeship Council shall "insure the political, economic, social and educational advancement" of the native peoples in these trust and non-self-governing territories. It also states its purpose "to develop self-government, to take due account of the political aspirations of the peoples, and to assist them in the progressive development of their free political institutions." In other words, the U.N. declares its purpose to be to get these people in colonial regions out of the status of dependencies just as soon as possible, and to push them along the road to freedom and self-government.

Again, that's a fine aspiration, but it will not be done easily. In the 11 "trust territories" where the U.N. has final authority, the problem is not too complex. Its difficulty mainly lies in the fact that most of the inhabitants of the trust territories are still primitive people, and much educational work must be done before they can hope successfully to govern themselves. But in one of these territories, Western Samoa, the administering nation—New Zealand—has pushed the people straight ahead on the road to self-government and will next year permit an elected constitutional convention to adopt a complete plan of self-government.

Another instance of the way in which trust territories are being brought to freedom is Somaliland. This former Italian colony, still administered by Italy, is to become an independent nation by 1960.

The Trusteeship Council is very direct in supervising the trust territories. It requires each of the administering nations to turn in a yearly report covering 247 different items. At least once every three years it sends out a team of its own experts to investigate on the ground the kind of job the administrators are doing. Moreover, every tribe, every organization, every person in a trust territory has the right to appeal directly to the Trusteeship Council when it is believed that some right or justice is being denied.

These appeals pour in by the hundreds. Some of them the Council can do nothing about, as in the case of the African chieftain who wanted the U.N. to make his mother-in-law "lay off." But the complaints of the Ewe tribe against being cut up, part in the Gold Coast, part in British Togoland and part in French Togoland, and its petition for the formation of a new African country of Eweland—this is the sort of thing to which the Council gives

years of investigation and negotiation with all the Africans and the administering powers involved.

WHEN it deals with the non-self-governing territories, however, the U.N. must proceed in a different way. These are, in one form or another, possessions of the colonial powers. Their inhabitants do not have the right of appeal to the Council. All the Council can do is to request members of the U.N. with such possessions to inform the Secretary-General annually on developments. The Secretary-General's analyses and summaries of these reports are published. In this way attention can be called to situations needing correction. But the distribution of these reports affects world opinion.

Sometimes this involves the Council in disputes with powerful nations. The most spectacular of these has been with the Union of South Africa over that nation's refusal to go on reporting on its administration of South West Africa. That is too long and involved a story to be told here, but the upshot has been that the U.N. has rebuked Dr. Malan's government in South Africa for its procedure in South West Africa, for its treatment of the Indians who live in such numbers in the Union (especially in Natal), and for its *apartheid* (segregation) policy which denies most rights to the 8,500,000 African natives within its boundaries.

Critics of the U.N. may say that the government of the Union of South Africa pays no attention to these efforts to protect minority rights there. That's the way it looks, and Dr. Malan goes ahead hurling defiance at the U.N. and threatening to withdraw. But South Africa does not withdraw. And the U.N. goes steadily on building up the moral judgment of the rest of the world against South Africa's racial policies.

There are signs that even tough Dr. Malan is beginning to feel the pressure. As this is written, it is reported that his government has proposed to meet India and Pakistan in a three-way conference to work out an agreement for better treatment of the Indians in South Africa. He asks that, as a face-saving device, the meeting not be held under U.N. auspices. The U.N., India and Pakistan are willing. They are not interested in face-saving. All they want is human rights and decent treatment for the hapless Indians in South Africa.

There have even been times when the Trusteeship Council has had trouble with the United States. One occurred recently when we announced that since Puerto Rico is now a self-governing commonwealth, with its own constitution, its own elections and its own legislature, we would no longer submit the reports we had been making concerning our administration of that island. This happened just as a considerable portion of the U.N., in its committee which deals with trusteeship matters, was ready to vote for a list of more than 20 "factors" which must be met before a non-self-governing territory is judged to have what the Charter calls "a full measure of self-government."

Since Puerto Rico—which still lacks control of its foreign and military affairs and has certain constitutional acts subject to approval by the U.S. Congress—could not satisfy all these "factors," that would have meant, if the test by "factors" had been adopted, that the U.N. was declaring Puerto Rico not self-governing, and that therefore the United States must continue to send information on this possession.

The United States won that particular tussle in the trusteeship committee, though by a narrow margin. Yet the very fact that the powerful United States was challenged as it was, though every delegate knew how generally encouraging the American administration had been to Puerto Rican aspirations, showed with what watchdog purpose the U.N. is trying to hasten the day when all states and peoples shall be truly free.

In the Service of Mercy

WE HAVE SEEN how the name of the United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund (UNICEF) has been changed to the United Nations Children's Fund. There is significance in that change. It shows that in one important field—the needs of children and their mothers—the U.N. no longer must spend all its efforts on disaster relief, but can turn to encouraging the nations to provide long-term measures for child protection and welfare.

This is what the U.N. is trying to do in all the fields where it offers assistance to meet human needs. Help the nations that need help to help themselves, not so much for the moment as for the long pull ahead. This is the core of the U.N.'s philosophy of human service. But there are certain areas of human misery where suffering is so great and need so challenging that the U.N. must postpone long-range programs for deeds of immediate mercy.

One of these areas in which human misery still afflicts appalling numbers is that of the refugees. Someone, having these millions in mind, has called this "The century of the homeless man." Every refugee is a potential center of infection, from which can stream forth germs of despair, bitterness and hatred to poison the whole world situation. It has been estimated that between 50 and 60 million people have fled from their homes during the past decade and a half. Great numbers have died on the war-littered roads and great numbers of the survivors are still without a permanent new home or work.

Where have these refugees come from? From every place where war has raged. Numbers fled from the Baltic republics when the Russians swept over them early in World War II. Numbers are survivors of the nazi concentration camps in Germany and Austria. More than 10 million were of German ancestry, and for that were expelled from countries in which their families had lived, often for as long as two or three centuries. These prefer to speak of themselves as "expellees" rather than refugees, but they are just as homeless and desperate.

(In West Germany today, one person in every five is an expellee. They are forced to live in the homes of the West Germans, where the personal relationships are steadily worsening by the overcrowding. Few of them have been able to find more than temporary work or temporary housing, for an already heavily populated and highly industrialized region such as West Germany cannot take in 10 million additional inhabitants except on a temporary basis. West German authorities are worried about what could happen if these 10 million expellees united in a political party behind some rabble-rousing demagogue. The rest of the world has reason to worry likewise.)

Numbers of the refugees are to be found in Asia. Eight hundred thousand Arabs who formerly lived in what is now Israel barely keep alive in the refugee camps which surround that country. There are refugees in Pakistan and in India, miserable souls who fled for their lives during the religious massacres which took place when the partition went into effect. There are thousands of Chinese refugees in Hongkong, on Formosa and scattered in teeming Malaysia and Indonesia. The little Republic of Korea is packed and

running over with refugees who have fled southward from the communist tyranny in the north.

STARTING in 1947, for nearly five years the United Nations dealt with the refugee problem through its International Refugee Organization. During that period it resettled more than a million families of displaced persons and refugees in new homes, repatriated approximately 73,000 to their former homelands and gave some form of assistance to over 1,600,000. In addition it gave important information and other technical assistance to the programs of separate nations and of unofficial organizations for helping refugees and D.P.'s.

Two years ago, however, the U.N. voted to supersede the IRO with the office of a U.N. High Commissioner for Refugees. A decision taken by the General Assembly in October of this year indicates that the U.N. intends to keep this commissioner and his staff at work trying to get the refugees resettled until there are no more. Dr. G. J. van Heuven Goedhart, of the Netherlands, who became the first high commissioner in 1951, has done such a satisfactory job that he was re-elected for a five-year term.

The U.N. refugee commissioner does not work directly to transfer homeless families to countries where they can find room and employment. Instead, he works to see that the immediate needs of these helpless ones are met where they now are, that their human rights are protected, and that where possible they are absorbed into the industries and communities where fate has already driven them. Since migration is a matter every nation wants to control for itself, and in such ways as to insure that the interests of its own inhabitants do not suffer, the U.N. carefully keeps out of any actual legislative measures to transfer refugees and D.P.'s from one country to another.

What the U.N.'s commissioner can and does do is to study the extent and nature of the refugee problem at all times, and see that all the nations know all about it; to make studies of areas where it is thought additional population is needed and report on the possibilities in such places; and to try to get the refugees who still live in the more than 200 camps scattered about Europe integrated into the life of the countries where they have taken refuge. Incidentally, this work seems so important for peace and is being so well done that a private U.S. philanthropy, the Ford Foundation, has given the high commissioner $2.9 million to help along the work of his agency.

NOT all the misery, however, is in Europe, although the attention of the U.N. refugee commissioner is largely confined to refugees on that continent. (One important exception to this: he is also responsible for helping the 300,000 Chinese refugees in Hongkong.) But a special organization, the U.N. Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East, has been set up to try to lighten the miseries of the 880,000 Arab refugees who surround Israel.

This is not the place to dicuss why these Arabs are refugees, or why, after almost five years, they still live in the camps and caves and overcrowded villages where they have no possible way of earning their own livelihood. The brutal fact is that these homeless ones are where they are, living under conditions so appalling that every American traveler who sees them comes back shaken at the sight of such misery. If, as is often and truly said, the Middle East is one vast dynamite-dump, where a single spark could set off a world conflict, the bitterness of these Arab refugees is an ever-present menace to peace.

The U.N.'s agency for Palestine refugees cannot solve the problem of their future. That is one of the subjects which will have to be worked out by negotiation between Israel and the Arab states to which the refugees fled. Such negotiations, when they can be arranged, will take place under the auspices of another agency of the U.N.

Meanwhile, however, the refugee agency can see that the refugees don't starve. It does this by providing a basic ration of about 1,500 calories a day, with the addition of 1,200 grams of dry skim milk every month as a supplement for 380,000 refugee children and nursing mothers, and 1,200 grams of dry whole milk for 20,000 infants and hospital patients. And in some of the refugee centers where it looks as though these wretched ones would have to live for a long time, mud-and-rubble housing is being provided to take the place of the tents which so far have provided the only shelter. In Gaza alone, for example, about 60,000 have thus been given passably decent living quarters.

THEN there's the story of Korea—a story which deserves five or six times the space we have available. How many Americans realize that by the time the North Korean Communists had made their first drive south, and the U.N. forces under General MacArthur had made their counter-drive north, and the Chinese armies drove across the Yalu to establish the line near the 38th parallel where the fighting stabilized until the truce was signed, there were more civilian displaced persons in Korea than there were in Europe during World War II?

Through the U.N. Civil Assistance Command and then through the U.N. Korean Reconstruction Agency, the U.N. has worked to save the Korean people from starvation and epidemics. Now it is tackling the problem of rebuilding an almost completely ruined country. This requires everything from providing seeds and fertilizer to building bridges and restoring roads. It is a job staggering in extent, but the U.N. throws itself into it, knowing that if it is not done, Korea for decades to come will be a breeding-spot for the trouble that comes out of human misery.

'They Say...' But What Are the Facts?

THIS survey has touched only high spots in the performance and problems of the United Nations. Many important aspects of its operations have not been mentioned. But with our space almost used up, perhaps Mr. and Mrs. Average American would like us to deal with some of the charges which are constantly being leveled against the U.N. Are they true, or aren't they? Consider ten of the most frequently heard allegations.

"The U.N. is a nest of Communist spies." True or false? We will let Henry Cabot Lodge, Jr., head of the U.S. delegation and former Republican senator from Massachusetts, answer. Says Mr. Lodge: "It is not a nest of Communist spies, for the simple reason that there is nothing to spy on at the United Nations. No member nation sends any secret or confidential material to the U.N. . . . The Soviet Union has not even bothered to fill its quota of employees at the U.N., and no American citizen employed by the U.N. has ever been prosecuted for espionage."

"The U.N. dragged the United States into the Korean war." It would be closer to the truth to say that the United States dragged the U.N. into that war. (Although that wouldn't be true,

either.) But it was the United States which asked the U.N. to act after the North Korean Communists had crossed the 38th parallel, invading the Republic of Korea. The U.S.A. had ordered its armed forces into action in South Korea before the U.N. adopted the resolution, introduced by the U.S., calling for collective action by U.N. members against the aggressor.

"The U.N. can send American boys to fight and die anywhere in the world." On the contrary, the U.N. cannot send the troops of any nation to fight anywhere. All it can do is ask its member-nations, in case of aggression, to send their forces to repel the aggression. The decision as to whether they do so or not is entirely up to each nation. In Korea, for example, the troops of the 16 nations which fought there under the U.N. command were all volunteered by their nations. The nations which did not want to volunteer units of their armed forces, did not do so.

"The U.N. can set aside or supersede our American laws with U.N. treaties, and it can interfere in the internal affairs of the United States." Any treaty proposed by the U.N. must be ratified by a two-thirds vote of the Senate and signed by the President before it becomes effective in the United States. The U.S. Supreme Court has declared (in Askura vs. City of Seattle) that "the [treaty] power does not extend as far as to authorize what the Constitution forbids." As was said earlier, the Charter of the U.N. clearly states: "Nothing contained in the present Charter shall authorize the United Nations to intervene in matters which are essentially within the domestic jurisdiction of any state."

"The U.N. is controlled by the Russians." Look at the U.N. roll-calls and you will get the answer to this one. Russia has never won a major roll-call. On the overwhelming majority of issues before the U.N., the best Russia has been able to do is to muster 5 votes out of the 60 in the General Assembly and in each of the U.N.'s principal committees.

Sometimes this charge is varied to *"UNESCO is used by the Russians to spread communist poison through our schools and in other ways."* Let Paul G. Hoffman, chairman of the board of the Studebaker Corporation, comment: "The quickest reply to this charge is to point out that UNESCO's educational policies and belief in free inquiry are so directly opposed to Soviet views that Russia has refused to join the agency. Further, she forced her satellites, Poland, Hungary and Czechoslovakia, to resign from UNESCO on the ground that it is a 'tool of U.S. policy.' "

"The U.N. is promoting formation of a world government in which the United States will lose its independence." This ignores the fact that the U.N. is made up of 60 separate, independent nations, each intent on preserving its own independence. If you doubt it, follow U.N. debates closely for a while and see how quick the member-nations, small as well as large, are to protest when any proposal is made which they fear might in the smallest degree strip them of their sovereignty. As a matter of fact, the service to world peace of the U.N. probably would be improved if its member-nations were not so jealous of their freedom of independent action.

"God is not mentioned in the U.N. Charter and U.N. meetings are not opened with prayer. The U.N. is a godless, atheistic organization." So? Here's what the Presiding Bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church, Henry Knox Sherrill, says about that: "Men and women of many faiths are involved in the work of the U.N. The basis of Christianity is love, not compulsion. We cannot expect them to observe religious practices other than their own. The silent prayer which opens each meeting of the General Assembly is as far as it is possible to go at this time." The Constitution of the United States does not name God. Is the U.S. atheistic?

"U.N. employees are immune to our American laws. Moreover, they pay no income taxes." No U.N. employee working in the United States has the slightest immunity; if he breaks our laws he may be arrested and punished just like the rest of us. What the objectors must be thinking of is the diplomatic immunity of members of delegations. This is like the immunity of all embassy staffs—our own embassies abroad as well as the embassies other nations send here. As for taxes, the U.N. deducts from the salary of every employee a sum approximately equal to what his U.S. income tax would be on that salary. This is turned into the general budget of the U.N. and used to reduce the contribution of the nation from which he comes by that amount. These assessments on U.N. employees—the equivalent of taxes—now total over $7 million a year.

"The costs of the U.N. are too high and the United States pays all the bills." Is that so? Listen to Harvey S. Firestone, Jr., chairman of the Firestone Tire and Rubber Company: "The United States does *not* pay all the bills. As a matter of fact, we pay less than one-third of them. Our share of the 1953 total assessment of $79,254,170 is $25,433,373. This is 32.54 per cent of the total amount. [In 1954 this is to be reduced to 30 per cent.] The difference of $53,820,797 is paid by other member countries. . . . Our assessment for the United Nations and its specialized agencies averages 16 cents for each person in the United States. . . . The United Nations spends in the United States each year for salaries, services and other needs about $30 million, which is more than our total contribution. It is interesting to note that the entire budget of the United Nations would not buy one battleship and that our share would hardly pay for one destroyer."[9]

Finally, here's the objection which some people apparently think clinches the argument for the uselessness of the United Nations: *"The U.N. does nothing but talk. It's a debating society, not an effective agency for building and preserving peace. The delegates talk and talk and talk—and get nowhere."* There is a lot of talk at the U.N. That's true. But this study has shown that many things have been accomplished—a surprising number of things when account is taken of the brevity of the record and the difficulties of the world situation the U.N. has been forced to face. Yet suppose there were nothing much but talk at the U.N., and that a good deal was foolish, wild talk indulged in mainly for propaganda purposes. Isn't it better to have the nations go on talking than to have them start shooting? Isn't a debating society to be preferred to World War III—the First Atomic War? If the mothers and fathers of America will think this over we are confident that they will say, "Thank God the U.N. keeps the nations talking!"

No one claims that the United Nations is beyond criticism. Those who know it best are frequently its most searching critics. In this study we have pointed out a considerable number of its failures and weaknesses. But it is one thing to criticize the U.N. for actual faults within its structure or its actions, and quite another to scatter about wild accusations which have no basis in fact.

There is altogether too much of this spreading of baseless defamation of the U.N. The charges we have quoted above in the italicized sentences are illustrations. Those who spread them are irresponsible for two reasons: (1) they evidently have not bothered to check on the truth, and (2) they do not pause to reflect on the consequences

if the people's faith is so undermined that this international organization to maintain peace collapses. Playing fast and loose with the truth here is playing with the lives of our children and our children's children.

U. N.—Snare or Shield?

WE have tried to give a picture of the United Nations—what it is and how it works. It has been an inadequate picture, for it is impossible to talk about all the things the U.N. does in so brief a compass. But we have tried to make this picture, though drawn in bold strokes, a balanced one, and in this way a true one. The bad has been shown along with the good; the U.N.'s failures as well as its successes.

Now it is time to answer the question asked at the start: The U.N.—is it a snare or a shield? As an American citizen, free to do your own thinking and reach your own conclusions, you will answer this question for yourself. We hope you have found this study a help in making up your mind. As for ourselves, after watching the U.N. closely from the day of its birth we say without hesitation that we believe it is a shield.

We see in the U.N. a shield to the peace of the world. It shields peace because it offers the nations a peaceful alternative to demands and ultimatums and threats of war. It shields peace because it musters the constructive, cooperative help of the nations to solve those human problems of hunger and poverty and lack of opportunity which create the misery and mass discontent out of which wars come. It shields peace because it is opening a way to freedom and self-government for subjugated peoples who never before had any other way to liberty than armed revolt.

When it thus shields world peace, the U.N. shields the peace of America. When it shields the peace of America it shields American homes—your home, your children, your grandchildren.

We do not think that the U.N. provides a military shield for America. We know this is the only kind of shield some Americans care about, and that their interest in the U.N. is therefore confined to what the U.N. can do to guarantee collective military security. In this study we have admitted that we do not believe the U.N. can guarantee security of this kind. Some friends of the U.N. will disagree, or they will argue that if the U.N. does not provide military security today, some day it may. Our conclusion is otherwise, and we frankly acknowledge it. If the U.N.'s shield has to be a military shield, then we do not think it is any good.

BUT that, as we see it, is not the problem of peace in today's world. The problem of peace is the problem of learning to live together—all kinds of nations, with all kinds of governments and political beliefs, all kinds of peoples at all kinds of social and intellectual levels. Can we find ways to compose our political differences, or hold them in abeyance, while a common effort goes forward to do away with human misery, subjugation and the wrath provoked by injustice? If this can be done, then peace is no empty dream. The United Nations, we have become convinced, is the way by which this requirement of learning to live together and work together is most likely to be achieved.

It is not the military clauses in the U.N. Charter to which we look for a shield. It is to the stipulation that in disputes between nations there must first be "negotiation, enquiry, mediation, conciliation, arbitration, judicial settlement, resort to regional agencies or arrangements, or other peaceful means of their own choice." Part of our hope for the future usefulness of the U.N. grows out of the fact, plain to anyone who has watched the way the U.N. has developed so far, that its Security Council, where the big powers were supposed to flourish a big stick, has been losing in importance while its General Assembly, where all the nations meet in counsel, has as steadily been gaining.

Moreover, we believe it a fact of promise that the agencies of the U.N. which have nothing to do with armed forces and staff plans—the Economic and Social Council, with all its humanitarian and specialized agencies; the Trusteeship Council; the International Court of Justice—are constantly increasing their ability to help ease the tensions of mankind.

There are Americans who say, "Why not have done with all this international nonsense? Why let ourselves get tied up with all these other nations, most of which are out to bleed us or gyp us? Why not face this rough, tough, brutal, envious world as it is, not as dreamers wish it were? We are powerful and nearly self-sufficient—more powerful and more nearly self-sufficient than any other nation in history. Then why don't we go it alone?"

One answer is that we can't. Not in the kind of world this *really* is. Fifty years ago, perhaps only 25 years ago, we could—or we could try. Not in today's jet-propelled world! The greatest protection we can have is to sit in a common council where we and the other nations are constantly face to face, and where we bring our differences into the open and discuss them in the presence of the whole family of nations.

This may be a noisy process at times, and at times an aggravating one, as a British delegate termed it not long ago. But it is the safest way to handle issues of conflicting national policies so far known to man. Surely it is safer than hurling ultimatums back and forth, threatening to follow them with atomic and hydrogen bombs!

There's another thing these "go-it-alone" Americans never seem to consider. When a big nation gets too big, and seems to enjoy ordering others around at its own sweet will, in the course of time it builds up such an accumulation of envy and hatred against itself that a day will come when almost certainly some of the others will unite to pull it down. Edmund Burke, the English statesman, saw that 160 years ago. In a passage which Prof. Hans J. Morgenthau quotes in his *Politics among Nations,* and Justin Wroe Nixon picked up to quote again in his fine booklet, *The United Nations and Our Religious Heritage,* Burke warned his countrymen:

"I must fairly say that I dread our *own* power and our *own* ambition. I dread our being too much dreaded. . . . We may say that we shall not abuse this astonishing and hitherto unheard-of power. But every other nation will think we shall abuse it. . . . Sooner or later this state of things must produce a combination against us which may end in our ruin."[10]

If the go-it-aloners in Great Britain needed that warning in 1793, how much more is it needed by the go-it-aloners in the United States today!

ONE of the most thought-provoking sights in today's harried world is to be seen these days at the headquarters of the United Nations in New York. It is not the striking buildings, the soaring, glass-walled home of the U.N. Secretariat and the great domed hall in which the General Assembly and the U.N. councils and committees and commissions hold their meetings. These were

designed by a company of foremost architects recruited from all over the world, and as they stand in their massive beauty beside the East river they challenge the eye in that city of eye-challenging skyscrapers.

But the impressive sight is not the U.N. buildings. It is, rather, the long lines of people—ordinary people, drawn from every nation, people like ourselves—who form day after day to visit this place where the nations meet in council. About 20,000 of them every week pay a dollar each to be guided through the buildings. Nearly twice as many, when the Assembly is in session, come as absorbed, tense observers at the meetings which may be in progress. They queue up before the doors open in the morning. The long lines are still waiting there seeking admission when darkness falls. No other tourist attraction in New York draws half as many visitors.

Why do they come, day after day, these thousands on thousands? Not simply to look at buildings. There are other more impressive buildings in New York. And not simply to be able to go home and say that they have "done" another sight tourists are supposed to see. But the reason for these seemingly endless lines, we are convinced after watching this phenomenon and talking to some who have helped to make it, is the deep though often inarticulate longing of the world's ordinary people for peace. They want peace for their nations and for the world. And they come to see whether in the U.N. war is being warded off and peace shielded.

We think they come to the right place. We think that most of them go away convinced that this U.N. they have seen in action, young and struggling and handicapped as it is, is in truth a shield against the ominous forces working to produce world tragedy.

As you study the working of the United Nations, as you ponder what the alternatives to this organization of the nations would be, we believe that you too will see in it such a shield. And you will, we trust, accept as one of the responsibilities of your citizenship an obligation to see that in your community, wherever your personal influence can reach, this great venture for peace and international cooperation receives the support it merits. To evade that obligation is to surrender the future to chaos.

□ □ □

Notes

1. The quotations in this paragraph are from *The Assault on the U.N.*, by Alexander Uhl, published by the Public Affairs Institute, 312 Pennsylvania Ave., S.E., Washington 3, D. C. This 35-page pamphlet is filled with other quotations of the same tenor.

2. *The Cross and the Flag* is the magazine edited by Gerald L. K. Smith, leader of the Christian Nationalist Crusade. The quotation is from its December 1952 issue and is reproduced from the important book, *Apostles of Discord,* by Ralph Lord Roy (Beacon Press, 1953).

3. The quotations are from editorials in the *Chicago Tribune* of Oct. 28, 29, 30, 1953—days when this study was in process of preparation.

4. The text of the Atlantic Charter may be found in many books of reference, as for example *Charter of the United Nations: Commentary and Documents,* by Leland M. Goodrich and Edvard Hambro (World Peace Foundation, Boston, 1946).

5. *United Nations and World Community,* by A. H. Feller. (Little, Brown and Company, 1952.)

6. *The Churches and the United Nations,* by Walter W. Van Kirk. (Distributed through the National Council of Churches of Christ in the U.S.A., 1952.)

7. "What Shall We Do with the U.N.?" by John Foster Dulles. (The Christian Century, Sept. 3, 1947.)

8. *World Against War.* An Account of the U.N. Technical Assistance Programme for Economic Development. (United Nations Publication, Geneva, Switzerland, 1953.)

9. The quotations from Senator Lodge, Paul G. Hoffman, Bishop Sherrill and Mr. Firestone are from an article, "The Eight Biggest Lies About the United Nations," by Arthur D. Morse, in the *Redbook Magazine* for October 1953.

10. Quoted from *The United Nations and Our Religious Heritage,* by Justin Wroe Nixon. (The Church Peace Union, New York, 1953.)

Further Reading

Books

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Numberless pamphlets giving official reports on U.N. activities may be obtained from the Department of Public Information, United Nations, New York, N. Y.

For a twice-a-month complete record of the work of the U.N., subscribe to the *United Nations Bulletin,* obtainable from the Department of Public Information, $4.50 a year.

BOOKS

(Continued from page 1454)

If he had been speaking for himself, and not through the mouth of the melancholy Jacques, Shakespeare would not have called the world entirely "foul," but it certainly was "infected."

His own thought is perhaps more accurately expressed by the words he put into the mouth of Lucrece: "But no perfection is so absolute / That some impurity doth not pollute"; or by Agrippa's charitable comment on Antony: "But you, gods, will give us some faults to make us men." He could scarcely conceive a really great character without a single redeeming vice, which might assume tragic proportions. With Antony it was doting on a woman; with Macbeth, ambition; with Othello, jealousy; with King Lear, egocentric possessiveness toward his children. These were not negligible foibles, as Agrippa's kind phrase might suggest, for they all brought disaster. But even tragedy is mellowed by the consideration that the fault which precipitated it was not demonic or diabolical but human.

Man is a social creature, and the impact of man on man (including woman) is the stuff that life is made of. But man lives in a cosmos as well as in a society. He has a more than earthly scope and quality. "Fate," "Destiny," "the will of Heaven"—call it what you will—play a part in the outcome. It is a beneficent part, working toward the triumph of justice and love and the healing of wounds, though in individual tragic cases the wounds may be too deep for cure. Shakespeare is realistic in recognizing the existence of evil, but optimistic in his conviction that the cosmos is oriented toward the good. Unlike the theologically minded Milton, he is not especially concerned to "justify the ways of God to man"; he is more interested in the ways of man and in seeing what kind of world it is that man has to live in. It is, on the whole, a pretty good world. He could even go so far as to say (Sonnet 119):

> Now I find true
> That better is by evil still made better; . . .
> So I return rebuked to my content,
> And gain by ill thrice more than I have spent.

Those lines must not be taken as his complete solution of the "problem of evil" for, in their context, they only express satisfaction with the resumption of a love affair on an improved basis after a painful interruption. Yet they do reflect the poet's general view that evils may have their value and that, though individuals may bring tragedy upon themselves by their own persistent folly, life as a whole is both a human and a divine comedy.

W. E. GARRISON.

Books in Brief

CHRISTMAS, AN AMERICAN ANNUAL OF CHRISTMAS LITERATURE AND ART. *Edited by Randolph E. Haugan. Augsburg Pub. House, paper $1.25; cloth $2.50.* For the 23rd time, Augsburg offers its Christmas annual with its charming and unusual illustrations and reading material. This one contains, for example, articles on the English bell-ringers and on Danish "Christmas plates," poems and stories appropriate to the season, and a number of little known carols (Flemish, Polish, Czech and so on). This would make an especially fine Christmas token to send to a family.

UNIFORM LESSON COMMENTARY, INTERNATIONAL SUNDAY SCHOOL LESSONS, 1954. *Edited by William M. Horn. Muhlenberg, $2.75.* This volume initiates a new series of annual commentaries on the uniform Sunday school lessons, the quality of which gives promise that it will make a place for itself among the established works in this field. It is based on the idea of enlisting such cooperation by pupils that they will study their lessons in advance and come to class prepared to discuss intelligently the text and topic for the day.

ARNOLD'S PRACTICAL COMMENTARY ON THE INTERNATIONAL SUNDAY SCHOOL LESSONS, 1954. *By Benjamin L. Olmstead. Light and Life Press, Winona Lake, Ind., $2.00.* This series has now reached its 60th annual volume. It contains the text of the lessons, verse-by-verse commentary, topical exposition, illustrative material, and suggestions for teaching in various grades. The themes for the four quarters of 1954 are: the Gospel of John; the northern kingdom of Israel and its prophets; Christian living, with selected texts; and Old Testament wisdom literature.

RICHER LIVING. *By Ernest Holmes and Raymond Charles Barker. Dodd, Mead, $3.75.* Daily readings for a year, designed as a guide to the attainment of "added power" or "success through right thinking." Holmes is head of the Institute of Religious Science, Los Angeles; Barker, minister of the First Church of Religious Science, New York, and formerly a minister of the Unity movement. W.E.G.

CORRESPONDENCE

Is the Answer 'No'?

SIR: On page 1325, Nov. 18, Mr. Clark asks if people can be expected to develop a sense of "integral Christianity" when "vigorous competition for personal wealth and position is regarded as compatible with Christian principles," and says the answer must be No.

Well, to be sure, we all enjoyed the fact that Eisenhower and Stevenson got their presidential nominations without either of them having tried for it. But shall we say that all the men who in a hundred years have successfully or unsuccessfully tried hard for the presidency, from Abraham Lincoln down to Taft and Kefauver, were *ipso facto* acting unchristianly in that they vigorously competed for the office?

Take a business case. Mr. Clark, 14 years out of college, will not remember, but I who was over 30 when I saw my first automobile do remember, the days when Henry Ford set out to make himself rich by such aggressiveness of competition as the business world was not accustomed to. His slashing line of competition was that he gave customers a reliably serviceable article, for many customers' purposes a more serviceable article than others were selling, and took a lower price than others were charging; and at the same time he competed for the best workmen by paying higher wages than others paid. By these methods he grew very rich, and at the same time greatly helped the business interests of all the rivals against whom he was competing; for it was Ford who gave the American public the attitude that normally everybody ought to have a car, and this attitude of the public has been the thing that has dotted the business skies with automobile millionaires.

I am not talking of what Ford did when his hair was whitening and his arteries hardening and his financial status beyond rivalry. At that time he got into the papers by some actions that were neither progressive nor competitive. I am talking of his methods when he was the most conspicuously competitive man on this continent.

STEVEN T. BYINGTON.

Ballard Vale, Mass.

Here, Too

SIR: In a brief item at the end of the editorials (p. 1317, Nov. 18), you suggest that one shouldn't call a British cleric a "Red" unless one is prepared to pay for that privilege. This is libel in this country, as well as Great Britain. The most obvious instance recently is reported from San Lorenzo, Calif., where a court fined a radio commentator $25,000, a radio station $25,000, and the manager of the station $5,000. James J. Tarantino, Hollywood gossip columnist and radio commentator, accused a schoolteacher of being a "reported communist." Apparently he based his charge on the fact that she was an active

supporter of United World Federalists. The teacher sued for damages, and the judge instructed the jury that the word "reported" should not be construed as making the charge less defamatory.

Nashville, Tenn. JAMESON JONES.

Warning to Protestant Fellow Travelers

SIR: I read with interest your editorial of Dec. 2, "Cincinnati Mergers to Continue." This concerned vital disputes within the Episcopal Church, disputes which have continued for some time and probably will go on for many years. I have reference to the Indian Hill action of the bishop of the diocese of Southern Ohio and to the action of another bishop of the church in permitting a Protestant to participate in an ordination to the priesthood.

As I say, these are terrible problems, straining the charity of Episcopalian for Episcopalian. So great is this strain, in fact, that it has horrible possibilities of causing schism, a schism which many of our Protestant brothers would, no doubt, welcome. Now this letter is not written to air the ecclesiastical affairs of Episcopalians in a Protestant magazine, a magazine which I might add has never shown the slightest grasp of the nature of the problems or of the great bulk of Episcopal thought.

This letter is written with the express intention of communicating to you that which I, as one Episcopal priest among hundreds, think of your actions. The Christian Century rather piously congratulates itself from time to time on its charitable and ecumenical attitude. It is surprising that with one hand it holds out the olive branch and with the other it foments trouble within Christian bodies. The Episcopal Church is not the only body in whose inner councils The Christian Century has attempted to arouse factional hostility and vituperation.

It has been the practice of all the large Catholic communions, Anglican, Orthodox and Roman, to limit participation in ordinations of bishops, priests and deacons to those already ordained to one of those holy orders. Yet when the Episcopal bishops adopt a statement regarding this practice, your paper takes a partisan attitude toward it. After mentioning Bishop Nash's unlawful action in permitting such a violation of the practice, you further add: "But other bishops have been guilty, God be praised!" I know not what purpose you feel will be served by this attitude, but I do know that it has the practical result of stirring up friction in the Episcopal Church and for that reason I regard your contribution to the cause of Christian understanding a negative one.

For the benefit of your many Protestant readers, I think it might be well to add that whatever illusions they may have nursed about the Episcopal Church either abandoning or compromising its Catholic order and practice, there are several hundred thousand, perhaps a million, Episcopalians who will continue steadfastly in the fellowship of the Episcopal Church regardless of the course certain Protestant fellow travelers within her bosom take. There have always been those stalwart Anglicans who would not consent to seeing the church at the tender mercies of Protestants to have her heritage trampled and spat upon and her teachings blown with every wind of doctrine which happens to be momentarily prevailing in Geneva, in Union Seminary or in The Christian Century.

ROBERT J. CENTER.
St. John's Episcopal Church,
Mount Carmel, Ill.

Duty

SIR: May I state what the "Duty of the Church to Society" (Oct. 21) is? You have used two pages of editorial to enlighten us on that topic.

The "duty" is to make disciples of Christ. It has no mandate to tell the world what to do economically or politically.

Scituate, Mass. HERMAN J. WELLS.

Two Speeches

SIR: During his recent good-will visit to the Philippines, Vice-Pres. Nixon had some pertinent things to say to the American community in the islands. Speaking to 500 U.S. citizens at the Manila Polo Club he counseled: "I urge each of you to remember that you are carrying a responsibility broader than your present job, and that is, you are representing the people of America." By the behavior of Americans away from home all Americans will be judged, he pointed out. "Every citizen in a foreign country is an ambassador of his own, either of good will or ill will."

Well spoken. But the very same issue of the *Manila Bulletin* which reported Vice-Pres. Nixon's speech also carried an A.P. story headlined: "American Neighborhood in Kentucky Opposes Presence of Filipino Family." It read in part: "Louisville, Ky., Nov. 22.—Mrs. Nina Hardman, a Filipina mother of three, moved into her new home Saturday despite objections from some of the people who will be her neighbors. . . . The $13,500 house Mrs. Hardman bought is next to one owned by Alderman Clifford T. Coomes. Coomes said he had objected to the sale of the property to the Filipino family and has 'some tentative plans for solving the problem.' He did not announce his plans. Petitions have been circulated in the neighborhood objecting to the presence of a Filipino family. . . ."

If Alderman Coomes and his neighbors had set out deliberately to sabotage Nixon's good-will mission, they could hardly have devised a more damaging action. Yet the alderman and his friends were probably unaware that their petition had any interest beyond their own tiny neighborhood, least of all any bearing on the cold war now holding the whole world in its grasp.

It matters little now that the Louisville neighbors repented of their petition and subsequently swarmed all over the Filipino family with traditional southern hospitality. "We made a mistake," they explained. "We thought the Hardmans were Negroes." In today's color-conscious world the explanation is no more reassuring than the original offense; it is only one more evidence of white bigotry.

America is a vast show window where, thanks to the absence of iron and bamboo curtains, nothing is hid from the inquiring gaze of humanity. Universal radio and a worldwide daily press have transformed the American domestic abode into a glass house on a hill. American friends have sent me newspaper clippings from the States, not realizing that I had read the same news in the morning paper in Manila while they were still in bed the night before! World news is often more adequately covered by the daily press in the Philippines and in Japan than it is by the average American newspaper.

It is a simple statement of fact that a private American citizen leaps into public notice the world around these days when he displays behavior in violation of the "American dream." He is a world ambassador of ill will, even though he may never have stirred out of his native state.

DWIGHT E. STEVENSON,
Visiting Professor.
Union Theological Seminary,
Manila, P. I.

Preparing for Evanston

SIR: In an editorial in The Christian Century not long ago you pointed up the desirability of study, by American church people and ministers, of the theme of the coming Evanston conference. You indicated that unless this were done, there would be much confusion and possible misunderstanding concerning what will be said in debate on that occasion.

The students and faculty of this theological college, that of the United Church of Canada in the province of British Columbia, in response to that editorial, decided to study that theme at their usual fall "retreat" held for two days this month.

With Rev. R. W. Henderson, minister of the United Church in the university area, as director of discussion, we proceeded to fairly intensive study of the question of the second coming in the larger context of the Christian hope. First Mr. Henderson gave a brief introduction to a section of the theme. Then in smaller groups of five or six students and a faculty member, we read the relevant biblical passages and tried to answer two or three questions prepared by our leader. After from one to two hours of such small group discussion, we returned to the larger group for open discussion and interchange.

We could not say that we settled any problems or arrived at any unanimity of expression on the theme. But we did achieve what we believe was the intention of your editorial comments. All of us are

now much better prepared to read with understanding and discrimination the preparatory materials published for the World Council meetings, and to follow the reports of that council when it meets next year.

We thank you for your provocative editorial.

S. Vernon Fawcett,
Prof. of Old Testament.
Union College,
Vancouver, B. C.

Local Congregations and Evanston

SIR: As a Disciples of Christ minister at the grass roots, I am beginning to be aware of a gathering crisis over the second Assembly of the World Council of Churches at Evanston in August 1954. Perhaps this is good. It may be the tension which Walter M. Horton called for when he urged that the churches must be reborn before they can be one. However, some immediate and positive steps must be taken if the participation of some denominations in the ecumenical movement on the surface is going to be preserved in depth. I therefore suggest the following:

First, there must be direct effort made to gain the consent of local churches *in depth* to the unity represented by the World Council. Reinhold Niebuhr once wrote that the ecumenical movement often appeared like two armies where the generals were in accord but the soldiers were still fighting.

One way to gain this consent is to make the representation from the denomination more representative of the entire life and thought of the group. Among the delegates of the Disciples of Christ, for instance, there is a heavy representation of commission secretaries, or general workers, higher education and large urban churches, but little or no representation of the characteristic life and thought of the Disciples as a whole, the town and country church. It is chiefly from this group that eventual consent to unity must be gained. They should have larger representation.

A second way to gain this consent is to reassure the local congregations that the councils in their present form will not be the ecclesiastical organization of the United Church when it comes. The present staffs of the World and National councils, despite occasional expressions, must be more willing to act at present as representatives of the churches than as bishops of the already United Church.

Second, there must be a thorough reassurance that congregational polity has not been finally abandoned as a form of government for the United Church. Congregational polity, in the thinking of large segments of the American churches, is the reasonable way to assure the freedom of the local congregation against a creeping totalitarianism of overhead bishops and presbyteries as we have them at present in several communions.

Third, there must be a thorough, careful and conscious consideration of the basic dangers and possible evils of church unity in terms of a United Church. Far too often spokesmen for the ecumenical movement have assumed that unity was of itself holy and apostolic. In this connection I should like to quote a sincere seeker of church unity in the last century, Alexander Campbell. He spoke of the recovery of the church in these terms: "Neither truth alone nor union alone is sufficient, but truth *and* union are omnipotent for God is in them and with them and has consecrated and blessed them for this very purpose."

Unity at the price of freedom of the local congregation is not to be tolerated. Unity at the price of a creedal bar to fellowship is not to be tolerated. Freedom at the price of indifference to new creative forms of polity and theology *within* the framework of the United Church is not to be tolerated. Ours is yet an unfinished church on earth, and we must confess it. Jesus Christ is transcendent over all forms of realizing him.

Unity at the price of truth is not to be tolerated, but at the same time we all must be humble enough to admit that *our view of truth* at the price of unity is also not to be tolerated. Unity must come, but we must chart the dangers of our journey with care.

If our congregations can be assured that in the coming United Church there can be maintained a constant flow of influence, wisdom, guidance and inspiration from the local church to the entire life of the church and a return flow from the life of the fellowship of the entire church to the local church, we may yet preserve the unity we seek. George C. Stuart.
First Christian Church,
Bloomington, Ill.

Do We All Want Free Rides?

SIR: Not long ago I received a duplicated letter from a denominational bookstore, the purport of which was this: Soon a state sales tax will go into effect in this state, but articles bought "for religious purposes" will be exempt from this tax. If you will sign the enclosed blanket statement, saying that your purchases are all for religious purposes, and return it to us, your name will be placed on a list of those who pay no sales tax at our store.

For 50 years, as a layman, I have been trying to work for the Kingdom of God, counting the reading of every book I buy as a contribution to my efficiency at doing that job. But I'm not ordained, and I did not sign that statement. Did you, my ordained friend?

And the other day I received a blank on which to make a pledge toward the 1954 budget of a certain church. I was reminded that the taxes were likely to be very heavy for 1953, and that if I sent a check now to cover this 1954 pledge my tax burden for 1953 would be lightened, there being no income tax this year on contributions to churches.

Will someone please explain to me the difference in principle between these appeals and pleas for free rides on public (tax-supported) buses for pupils in parochial schools?

R. Paul Montgomery.
Philadelphia, Pa.

Correction

SIR: Your editorial paragraph in the Nov. 4 issue about breakdown of cooperation here in Sheridan county was well done. There were, however, two errors. You mentioned the L.W.F. (Lutheran World Federation), while what I'm certain you actually meant was L.W.R. (Lutheran World Relief). You stated that there were three drives in 1953. There were only two solicitations; the Catholics had no solicitation, nor did they cooperate with either of the other drives. John E. Iliff.
First Congregational Church,
Plentywood, Mont.

Democracy?

SIR: The anonymous author of the letter captioned "Democracy in the Near East," appearing in your Nov. 18 issue, points to the Republic of Lebanon as an example of an Arab country which has achieved "a degree of democracy" possibly superior to that existing in Israel.

Anyone interested in the "degree of democracy" practiced in Lebanon would do well to start by consulting the Lebanese constitution, which requires that the president, premier, president of the Chamber of Deputies and vice-president of the country must be of certain specified faiths (Maronite, Sunni Muslim, Shi'a Muslim and Greek Orthodox respectively). With all its faults, the Republic of Israel has nothing in its basic law comparable to the monstrous Lebanese "quota system" of government.

Stanley Lichtenstein.
Takoma Park, Md.

Contra Congregationalism

SIR: I read with some interest Dr. Nichols' article, "Dilemma of the Free Church Liberal," because I was a Baptist who changed denominational affiliation when I became a liberal. I also read Dr. Hudson's intelligent but somewhat weak refutation, "Are the Baptists So Peculiar?" (Nov. 18), and find that Dr. Nichols' central truth—that congregational autonomy cripples the ecumenical effect of the church—was not invalidated.

I am also convinced of another fact: the Methodist Church has become the strongest single denomination in America because it has an organization with an authoritative leadership, which can deliver the total impact of the whole church on any great issue, whether it be for temperance, social justice or religious freedom.

Birmingham, Ala. Emory Burton.

NEWS of the CHRISTIAN WORLD

Texas Baptists Speak on Reds

At General Convention, They Approve of 'Sincere' Investigation of Clergy Accused of Communist Ties

WACO, TEX., Dec. 1.—Texas Baptists have declared that they have nothing in common with communism and that there is "no curtain of secrecy behind which any clergy can hide on the issues of communism." Their pronouncement came in a resolution adopted by the Baptist general convention of Texas, meeting at San Antonio. "Throughout religious history Baptists have been in the forefront of those who stood for free church, free state and liberty of conscience," the resolution stated. "This concept is utterly incompatible with slave-state ideas of communism, which always results in curtailment of individual liberty. Baptists . . . are in accord with any sincere investigation concerning communism among the clergy, or in any other realm of religious, economic, professional or other phases of life."

Protest Blanket Charges

Editor David M. Gardner of the *Baptist Standard* (Dallas) made it clear that the convention action did not necessarily endorse assertions about Communists among the clergy. "We do not believe that blanket charges against the clergy or any other group is either factual or fair," he said. "We believe that any investigator who is so free in giving the public the number of Communists among the clergy ought to be able to give their names. . . . We are not foolish enough to assume that Baptists have never been imposed on by impostors. We . . . do not and will not try to shield such unworthy characters from public exposure. . . . It would be impossible for any person to be both a Baptist and a Communist at the same time."

Baylor Will Employ No Communists

A week before the convention, Pres. W. R. White of Baylor University (Southern Baptist) here had made a statement of policy regarding the school's teaching staff. "In my opinion the Fifth Amendment was never intended to provide immunity for people guilty of sedition," he declared. "I certainly consider membership in the Communist party an act of sedition. I am not using the word in a technical and legal sense. Baylor University is interested in the spirit of the law as well as the letter. No one could remain at Baylor who would use the Fifth Amendment as a subterfuge on the question of membership in the Communist party."

Baylor Makes Course on the Constitution Compulsory

Pres. White's statement came at the close of Baylor's first annual Conference on American Ideals. At the conference, Secretary of the Navy Robert B. Anderson helped the university inaugurate a course on the U.S. Constitution which is to be compulsory for every student. Speaking at the convocation at which he received from Baylor an honorary LL.D. degree, Anderson hailed the Constitution as achieving the "desired balance in man's historic juggling of order and freedom" and credited its greatness to the fact that it recognizes the principles of Christian conduct.

Layman Sees Christian Service Advisable for Businessmen

Eugene F. Jud, Waco layman, told the recent lay retreat held by the Texas Methodist conference at Lakeview camp that businessmen can best secure the future of their enterprises by taking time out for active Christian work. If they don't, he said, they may not have any business left. Christianity is fighting a losing battle with its back to the wall, Jud asserted, because Christians don't take their religion seriously. . . . The North Texas Methodist conference has filed with Pres. Eisenhower a resolution protesting the sale of liquor in officers' mess halls at military installations. The Methodists said they were appealing to the President directly because "the secretary of defense and his associates have consistently brushed off and bypassed those of us who have tried to give helpful guidance in this matter."

State Church Council Opens Headquarters

The Texas council of churches has opened its permanent office in Austin. The Texas CROP organization has established a headquarters in the council office to serve the central and southern parts of the state. The two groups function independently but cooperatively. Organized about a year ago, the council of churches represents 11 denominations. Harold Kilpatrick is executive secretary. The annual meeting and convocation will be held Jan. 6-8.

And So Forth

Frank Ramos, a Spanish-speaking Methodist minister, is serving as chaplain to inmates of the Bexar county jail at San Antonio. His work is sponsored by the San Antonio council of churches. It is particularly concerned with Mexican migrant laborers who have entered this country illegally and are housed in the county jail awaiting deportation. The chaplain holds individual conferences and conducts Sunday afternoon worship services.

The Texas restaurant association has distributed "Thanksgiving before Meals" cards which are being put on tables in cafés all over the state. Catholic, Protestant and Jewish prayers are printed on the cards.

J. Howard Williams, formerly executive secretary of the Baptist general convention of Texas, has succeeded E. D. Head, retired, as president of Southwestern Baptist Theological Seminary at Fort Worth.

The Fort Worth council of churches was officially constituted Nov. 9, with 67 congregations participating. The Dallas council now has a membership of around 75 churches, Houston 72 and San Antonio 105.

Olcutt Sanders, executive secretary of the American Friends Service Committee's southwest region, has been appointed national public relations secretary for the Quaker organization. C. E. BRYANT.

Urge Corporation Aid for Colleges

Pittsburgh Area Conferences Present Independent Institutions' Need as Incomes Decline

PITTSBURGH, Dec. 1.—Twice within a month some of the nation's top-flight industrialists have been brought together to discuss problems of higher education with presidents of colleges and universities in this section. At the first conference, Wilson M. Compton, president of the Council for Financial Aid to Education, appealed for large corporation contributions toward trust funds and as special gifts to save institutions which do not receive state grants. Dr. Compton estimated that nearly half the country's 1,000 church-related and independent colleges are operating at a deficit and that they will need about $250 million annually for the next five years. The big corporations, he said, control the last great untapped reserve of funds that might be used for this purpose, referring to such giving as "civic duty" and "not tax evasion." The second conference, at White Sulphur Springs, W. Va., was called at the suggestion of Robert Young, board chairman of the Chesapeake and Ohio Railway, and Pres. Milton S. Eisenhower of Pennsylvania State College. Thirty-eight educators and 31 industrial executives met to study their "mutuality of interests." The exchange apparently produced enough agreement to justify a later session looking toward the drawing up of a program based on the ideas developed. Press releases have not indicated the zones of agreement or the nature of conclusions.

State Council Sponsors Pastors' Conference

The Pennsylvania council of churches gave further evidence of its growing vitality and effectiveness in its second annual state pastors' conference held last week in Harrisburg, when 586 ministers from all sections of the commonwealth were enrolled for a three-day program of inspiration and fellowship. An additional feature this year was an evening for laymen, which drew about 250 men from 25 denominations. Among featured speakers were Methodist Bishop Lloyd C. Wicke of Pittsburgh, Pres. Perry E. Gresham of Bethany College, Wilbour E. Saunders of Colgate-Rochester Divinity School, James H. Robinson and George A. Buttrick of New York city, Liston Pope of Yale Divinity School, J. Burt Bouwman of Philadelphia, and Bertha Paulssen of Gettysburg, Pa. Nov. 30-Dec. 1 the council is convening 80 denominational executives and council secretaries at Buck Hill Falls, Pa., to work out coordinated plans for chaplaincies in state institutions and for comity, church planning and readjustment.

Macartney Raps 'Fifth Amendment Americans'

Lauding George Washington's strength of character in the first event of Pittsburgh's five-year celebration of its 200th anniver-

sary, Clarence E. Macartney, minister emeritus of First Presbyterian Church, scathingly denounced Americans who take refuge in the Fifth Amendment when they refuse to answer charges against themselves. The occasion was "Location Day," marking Washington's visit to the Pittsburgh site when he observed its strategic advantages for fortification and settlement. The ceremony took place at the new multimillion-dollar Gateway Center which faces newly developed Point Park. During his 27 years at First Church, Dr. Macartney wrote voluminously of the history of this area. He characterized the first President as "one of the most striking illustrations in history of the strength and influence which character can give to the soldier and the statesman."

Welfare Federation Studies Delinquency

Some severe outcroppings of juvenile crime led the health and welfare federation of Allegheny county (Pittsburgh) to convene representatives of groups and agencies interested in religion, health, welfare and recreation on Nov. 13 to explore the possibilities of a coordinated community attack on delinquency. A study committee is to bring back recommendations which, presumably, will ask for a strengthening in the number and leadership of neighborhood community councils. It was agreed that this is the most inclusive type of approach. Meanwhile, officials of Hill City Youth Municipality, Pittsburgh's widely known self-governing youth project in a congested area largely populated by Negro families, have announced expansion of the Hill City idea into other sections of the city. They have opened a downtown office to press a campaign for an additional $30,000 a year. Hill City operates its own police department and courts with juvenile personnel. Its operations have proved decidedly effective. Howard C. McKinney, a member of the police department, is its director.

And So Forth

W. Ralph Ward, minister of Mount Lebanon Methodist Church, was recently honored with the "Man of the Year" award of South Hills lodge of B'nai B'rith. Dr. Ward's church was used last year for high holiday services by a new Reformed synagogue congregation in Mount Lebanon.

Possible Presbyterian union was discussed here last week by youth representatives of the three denominations concerned at a meeting at Western Theological Seminary.

The council of churches of Allegheny county is campaigning for $25,000 to underwrite new departments of institutional ministry and church planning in 1954. The sum will raise the contributed annual budget to $100,000.

The two-hour service consecrating Coleman F. Carroll, pastor of Sacred Heart Catholic Church, as auxiliary bishop of the Roman Catholic diocese of Pittsburgh was televised over station WDTV.

Mount Lebanon United Presbyterian Church and its minister, Cary N. Weisiger III, have signed a 13-week contract for a 15-minute period each Sunday over the new station WKJF-TV. It is the first paid religious television program by a church in this area.

O. M. Walton.

Exiles on Cheju Island Return

Christians Among Korean Evacuees Are Assisted in Rehabilitation by Mission Agencies

Seoul, Korea, Nov. 12.—The promise given three years ago to the Christians among the evacuees transported to Cheju island—that they would be helped again when it was possible for them to return to the mainland—has been made good. In late October 1,142 adults and children were brought to Pusan and lodged in property secured by the Presbyterian mission as a relocation center. They will live there until they can re-establish themselves on the mainland. At the same time two boats arrived at Inchon with 1,558 returnees, whose rehabilitation in the Inchon-Seoul area is being sponsored by the churches to which they formerly belonged. A gratifying feature of the return was that, just as when they were evacuated, one mission made over-all arrangements regardless of the denominational affiliations of the people, so that members of four denominations were among the arrivals. The four LST's which brought the evacuees back were provided by the armed forces. Only a few hundred of the 13,000 people originally sent to Cheju remain there. During the three years on the island 17 new churches and 10 other Christian meeting places were established. These and 30 Bible clubs, which offer a primary education, are continuing the Christian witness there. Two primary and two high schools have moved back to the mainland after two and a half years' service to the exiles.

Yung Nak Branches in South Prove Their Strength

Now that civilians are returning to Seoul in increasing numbers, the "churches in exile" founded by refugees in southern areas are proving their independent strength by continued growth. The Yung Nak Presbyterian Church's branches in Pusan and Taegu have erected new buildings and are urging each family to win replacements before returning to Seoul. The "mother church" in Seoul now has 2,000 at each of its identical worship services on Sunday mornings.

Medical Fellowship Meets In Seoul

In late October 38 doctors, nurses and medical technicians attended the sessions of the Medical Fellowship in Seoul. In addition to representatives of long established medical projects, newcomers were present from the postinvasion medical work initiated by the Southern Baptists in Pusan. Former classmates at the Pyeng Yang American School now out in medical mission service are Dr. Ian Robb, who heads the Severance branch hospital operated on Koje island under the United Canadian Mission; Dr. Kenneth Scott, in charge of the Presbyterian hospital in Taegu; Dr. Paul Crane, in charge of the Presbyterian, U.S., hospital in Chunju; and Dr. Helen McKenzie and her sister Katherine, a registered nurse, who have opened a hospital for women and children in Pusan. The McKenzie sisters are furthering the work of their Australian missionary parents in Pusan.

C.W.S. Projects Serve Women and Children

In addition to the Home for Young Women opened a year ago to reclaim girls from the streets and provide a Christian environment for orphaned older girls, Church World Service now has two other projects in the Seoul area. A widowed mother of seven is using her large house as a work center ("Eden Home") for 32 other widows, who earn their living making garments and quilts. The second new venture is the "Faith and Love Day Nursery" for toddlers whose parents go to work every day. Both institutions are already overcrowded and are looking for additional quarters.

Korean Y.M.C.A. Celebrates 50th Anniversary

The Korean Y.M.C.A. recently celebrated its 50th anniversary in five days of services, most of them held outdoors on the site of the destroyed building originally donated by John Wanamaker. From what is called the "smallest Y.M.C.A. plant in the world," General Secretary Hyun and his staff operate a Christian day school for orphaned and underprivileged children, a home for young women where more than 200 girls have already been rehabilitated and placed in responsible positions, and a "Boys' Town" on an island in the Han river where nearly 400 boys are being cared for. It is hoped the large Y.M. plant can soon be rebuilt.

And So Forth

Gen. Maxwell Taylor's suggestion that men of the armed forces write home for gifts for Korean widows and orphans and other needy people is bringing phenomenal results. Knitted articles in bulk are being received at the Eighth army chaplains' headquarters for Christmas distribution, most of it to be channeled through churches and other charitable institutions.

Reports continue to come in of restoration of churches or building of new ones by various units of the armed forces in Korea. Protestant servicemen of IX corps have contributed funds to erect churches in four towns in their area, where groups of Christians have been meeting in schools and other makeshift sanctuaries.

In mid-November a memorial service will be held for John F. Genso, for 40 years treasurer of the Presbyterian, U.S.A., Korea Mission, when his ashes are interred in Seoul.

Late this month a children's hospital unit, funds for which were supplied by Dr. Bob Pierce, will be dedicated and opened by Taegu Presbyterian hospital. Work on the long-needed nurses' dormitory in Taegu will soon be completed, as will repairs on the war-gutted main nurses' dormitory at Severance hospital in Seoul.

Sue Comstock Adams.

St. Petersburg Council Invites Negro Members

United Churches of St. Petersburg, Fla., has voted unanimously to invite Negro churches of the city into membership.

Name Protestant Court Counselor

New York Council's Manhattan Division Takes Step in Effort to Combat Juvenile Delinquency

NEW YORK, Dec. 3.—One effort of the Manhattan churches to prevent an increase in juvenile delinquency is being made through the courts. When leaders of the Manhattan council of churchwomen learned of the need for a counseling service in children's court—a need that the New York Protestant council has long been aware of—things began to happen. Churchwomen and ministers visited the court and saw how desperate was the situation of the families involved. Through the cooperation of the women's organizations, the churches and individuals, it has now been possible to appoint an expert as counselor to Protestant families whose children are brought into the court. Lester V. Baker, a specialist in family life education, begins his work this month; he will be a member of the staff of the Protestant council's Manhattan division. A similar project was undertaken some time ago by the Brooklyn council of churchwomen (see The Christian Century for Oct. 14, p. 1181).

East Harlem Parish Has Fifth Anniversary

At its fifth anniversary celebration held recently at Riverside Church, the East Harlem Protestant Parish revealed that adult membership in its four churches has grown to over 350, over 800 children have been enrolled in various programs, and more than 1,000 others brought into contact with the parish. On the present parish staff are 15 full-time workers, some 20 Union Theological Seminary students who work in the project as part of their ministerial training, and a number of volunteer social workers, a nurse, a doctor and two lawyers. The parish budget has increased from $10,000 five years ago to over $80,000. Speaking at the meeting, Truman B. Douglass, executive of the Congregational Christian Board of Home Missions, declared that American Protestantism is "imprisoned" by a limited social outlook. "The appalling truth is that when one undertakes a search for fresh evangelistic ideas in American Protestantism, he starts with the East Harlem Parish—and then has nowhere else to go," he said. He described the church today as presenting a picture of "energetic busyness, a preoccupation with statistics, inflexible institutions and large monetary expenditures."

Presbyterians Give Priority To India, Pakistan

At its annual fall meeting here the Presbyterian, U.S.A., Board of Foreign Missions adopted a budget of $6,208,098. This sum will support the work of 1,060 missionaries and fraternal workers in 34 countries of Africa, Asia, Europe and Latin America, besides interchurch mission projects. The board gave final approval to the proposal to make the work in India and Pakistan a priority during the next four years. A program of rural church service, lay leadership, work among students in university centers, production of Christian literature, particularly for new literates, and Christian social action will be carried out. J. LeRoy Dodds, secretary for India and Pakistan who had returned the week before from a visit to those countries, said that changes in India are coming at such a dizzy pace that what is a silent revolution could become a violent revolution if Communists win control. Charles T. Leber, general secretary of the board just back from five months in Europe and Asia, pointed out that the two relatively small minorities, Christian and Communist, are struggling for the destiny of India—and one of them may hold the balance.

Leber Urges Missionaries to Learn as Well as Teach

At a press conference on his return, Dr. Leber urged that American churches "get rid of the idea that they are always going to be on the giving end in missions." "In the future, missionaries must go out in a humble spirit as partners willing to learn as well as to teach," he said. "They must be more qualified than ever before in their specialty, and they must not think of themselves as the whole Christian mission."

World Parliament of Religions Adopts Provisional Charter

A provisional charter for a World Parliament of Religions was drawn up recently at the close of a weeklong organizing conference at Presbyterian Labor Temple here. According to the charter, the parliament will provide an "instrument through which peoples of the earth who have religious loyalties may come together to consider, discuss and act upon matters of common concern in the attainment of our goal of a world of freedom, justice and peace." The charter adds: "We honor the basic truths common to the sacred writings of the great religions of the world." An administrative group was authorized to call the parliament into session at least once a year. Honorary chairman of the new organization is John Haynes Holmes, pastor emeritus of the Community Church of New York; chairman is Richard E. Evans, director of Labor Temple; secretary and organizer is Judge Ralph C. Roper. Among speakers at the week's services were Benjamin Cohen, assistant secretary general of the United Nations, and Gerald Heard, English philosopher and author. Dr. Holmes was awarded the parliament's first citation for "lifelong leadership in the field of the unity of all faiths."

Protestant Council Initiates Research Department

At a meeting here a week ago Thursday, delegates of the Protestant council of New York adopted a budget for the coming year of $457,811.15. This is the largest budget the council has ever undertaken, but Pres. Ralph W. Sockman pointed out that in view of the growing understanding of the council's work and with the full cooperation of the churches, the sum can be raised. Reporting for the department of church planning and research, Kenneth D. Miller of the New York city mission society revealed that over $10,000 has been assured, and the balance promised, to finance full-time operation of the department. Thereupon it was unanimously voted to elect

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Meryl Ruoss to set up the department and serve as its head. Mr. Ruoss' similar position with the city mission society will be discontinued, as the society pledged $3,000 to the new project.

And So Forth

The final rally, at Teaneck armory, of the Methodist united evangelical mission was attended by 8,500 persons. Bishop Frederick B. Newell announced that the mission, conducted in the New York and Newark conferences and in two areas of the upstate Troy conference, resulted in 22,945 decisions to join the church, the majority on confession of faith. It is anticipated that the total will exceed 25,000 when all parish reports are in. Bishop G. Bromley Oxnam addressed the Teaneck rally.

Thanksgiving week in New York was designated as Religious Freedom Week in celebration of the 300th anniversary of the incorporation of Nieuw Amsterdam as a municipal government. An interfaith committee had decided on that theme as a recognition that freedom of worship is America's most significant contribution to human liberties. Roman Catholic churches held special masses, the Protestant council urged congregations to cooperate in an "impressive demonstration of the force of religion in the history of our city," and a number of joint Jewish-Protestant interracial services throughout the city stressed the freedom-of-worship theme.

Thirteen hundred teachers attended the 28th annual luncheon of the New York Protestant teachers' association at the Hotel Astor last Saturday. They heard an address by Pres. John A. Mackay of Princeton Theological Seminary, moderator of the Presbyterian, U.S.A., General Assembly. They rose in a body to applaud his final statement: "Our present history shows in a tragic way that man without God ceases to be man. When the real gods go out the false gods come in. . . . True knowledge must be dominated by a passion to benefit mankind—not [to bring about] his destruction." J. Henry Carpenter.

E.U.B. Missions Board Votes $1,650,000 Expenditure

At a recent three-day conference in Racine, Wis., the Evangelical United Brethren Board of Missions approved an operational budget of $1,650,000 for 1954, Religious News Service reports. This is in addition to sums appropriated for capital investment in hospitals, schools and churches. A gift of $15,000 was also voted for the Japan International Christian University, in addition to $60,000 appropriated at a previous conference. The board authorized establishment of a leper colony in connection with its medical center at Sierra Leone, west Africa.

Seventh-Day Adventists Again Lead in Per Capita Giving

The National Council of Churches' recent report on church giving (see The Christian Century for Dec. 2, p. 1413) reveals that the Seventh-Day Adventists again lead American Protestant denominations in per capita giving for the past year—$165.26. Average per capita giving, based on reports from 46 denominations, was $41.94, an increase of 7.6 per cent over the previous year.

Mark Protestant Historical Events

Commemoration Services Are Part of Washington State Centennial—Town Serves the Retired

Seattle, Nov. 30.—With the state council of churches and the Washington centennial committee as sponsors, three Protestant commemoration services were recently held in this area. At Waiilatpu (near Walla Walla), site of the old Whitman mission, the founding by American Board missionaries in 1838 of the first Protestant church in the northwest was celebrated. Chapin D. Foster, centennial chairman, was speaker. Near Chehalis, a ceremony was held at 95-year-old Claquato Church, oldest Protestant church still standing in Washington. Long abandoned, the building has been restored by the American Legion under the leadership of Roscoe B. Doane, a Presbyterian layman. Speaker at this observance was Associate Justice Matthew W. Hill. At the historic town of Steilacoom, a century of uninterrupted Christian ministry was commemorated in a service held out of doors near the state historical society's monument housing the original church bell, which was used again to call the people together for the centennial ceremonies. Protestant work in Steilacoom was initiated by Methodists in 1853, supported several years later by Presbyterians as a competing body, and carried on for the past 70 years by Congregationalists. Speaker at this service was Claton S. Rice of the state council of churches.

Ghost Town Reborn as Retirement Haven

Ryderwood, lately a ghost town a few miles from the northern border of Cowlitz county, is rapidly turning into a boom town. Boards are coming down from windows, weeds are giving way to grass, sounds of hammering and sawing fill the air. The rejuvenation started last April when Senior Estates, Inc., bought the town and set out to make it a place where retired people with small incomes could live in peace and harmony. In all, 183 houses are being renovated and sold for prices ranging from $2,500 to $3,500, with down payments and monthly installments within reach of the average retirement income. Community life is to be geared to older people. Says Col. W. F. Brandt, retired army officer who is president and general manager of Senior Estates: "Life can be beautiful and satisfying at any age if, given the right surroundings, people are helped to feel they have an important place in society."

Churchwomen Offer Bundles For Korean Refugees

On Nov. 2 a small mountain of bundles, each containing blankets, sheets, towels and wash cloths, was piled before the large cross at First Methodist Church here as United Church Women, a department of the Seattle council of churches, gathered for the annual observance of World Community Day. Women of 56 congregations participated. The more than 300 bundles collected will be sent to refugee camps in Korea. Elsie M. Farris, attorney and active laywoman of Long Beach, Calif., was guest speaker. She reminded the women that the world will never be made different or better by "convenient" sharing. "Our giving must be genuine and we must be willing to *sacrifice* to share with others," she said.

Lutherans Join for Evangelism

During October Lutherans inaugurated the greatest evangelistic effort in their history in the Pacific northwest. Participating were 77 congregations in Tacoma, Seattle and the surrounding area, under the chairmanship of Theodore E. Palmer, pastor of Gethsemane Lutheran Church here. He was assisted by national Lutheran leaders. Training sessions were held for laymen, Sunday school teachers, officers of organizations, youth, and evangelistic visitors. Daytime meetings, luncheons, suppers and evening sessions were held throughout the area in the campaign, which featured Bible study, prayer meetings, a visitation program and evangelistic meetings. The campaign concluded with a mass Reformation rally in Seattle's civic auditorium Sunday Oct. 25.

Southern Baptists Plan New Expansion in Northwest

Southern Baptists have great plans for new church development and growth in the Pacific northwest, according to the report given by R. E. Milam, executive secretary, at the annual meeting of the Oregon-Washington Baptist general convention held here the last week of October. Dr. Milam outlined goals to be achieved by 1957, based on the church's growth in the northwest since 1949, when Southern Baptists launched large-scale work in Washington and Oregon. In the two-state area, churches have increased in number from 21 to 74; membership is up from 3,115 to 7,235; Sunday school enrollment has jumped from 3,113 to 10,029. So far pastors have been coming from the south, but Dr. Milam said that the church hopes to train natives of the area as ministers. The Southern Baptists recently purchased for a reported $100,000 the building of the University Congregational Church here. It will be used not only as a church but also as a training school for laymen, Bible teachers and ministers.

And So Forth

Eleanor Roosevelt and Clark M. Eichelberger, executive director of the American Association for the United Nations, came to Seattle for the Armistice Day program sponsored by the northwest association for the U. N. Addressing an audience at the University of Washington's student union building, Mrs. Roosevelt said that while the outlook for the U.N. is good, "we're going to live in uncertainty for a long, long time." She urged that the United States continue to give leadership not only politically and economically, but spiritually. Speaking at an evening dinner meeting, Mr. Eichelberger declared that the U.S. policy in the U.N. must always be a moral one. "The vote in the General Assembly is a barometer of our country's moral position in the world," he said.

What can be done to improve church designing was considered at the regional conference on church architecture spon-

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sored here Oct. 16 by the Washington state chapter of the American Institute of Architects and local churches. Over 200 clergy, architects, laymen, directors of religious education, and students from the Pacific northwest attended the conference.

W. Walter Williams, undersecretary of commerce in the Eisenhower administration, was honored Nov. 7 at a luncheon given by University Congregational Church, Seattle, in which he has been active as a layman for 32 years. The occasion marked Mr. Williams' first visit to the church since completion of the new building, for which he had been a fund-raising leader.

Installation of Martin L. Goslin as pastor of Plymouth Congregational Church here Nov. 4 had ecumenical significance. In addition to wide Congregational representation, ministers were present from Baptist, Disciples, Lutheran, Methodist and Presbyterian churches. The installation sermon was preached by Dr. Goslin's longtime friend Donald V. Wells, executive director of the American Baptist Convention's Board of Education and Publication. Born a Presbyterian and raised a Methodist, Dr. Goslin came to Seattle from First Congregational Church, Evanston, Ill.

The Seattle-King county council of churches' annual fall leadership training school was the largest such enterprise ever conducted in this area. For the 16 courses offered in the six-week school, 628 students representing 20 denominations were registered. The school was held in Plymouth Congregational Church, with W. Herbert Grant, minister of Christian education at First Baptist Church, as dean.

GERTRUDE L. APEL.

Plan More Effective United Church Efforts in Michigan

The Michigan and Detroit councils of churches have set in motion a plan to bring into closer working relationship their two groups, along with the state's more than 3,000 Protestant and Orthodox churches and the more than 30 county and local church councils. First step in the plan was election of G. Merrill Lenox, executive director of the Detroit council, to serve also as executive of the state council. Then the staffs were united. The plan calls for a joint committee of the two councils to study the feasibility of further moves toward a more effective united Protestant program for all of Michigan.

Delay Council Decision

Puerto Rico Protestants Vote Further Study of Change in Association

SANTURCE, PUERTO RICO, Nov. 20.—In the largest annual assembly in its history, Puerto Rico's Association of Evangelical Churches voted today to constitute itself a commission to study and revise the proposed new constitution and bylaws which would convert the association into the Council of Evangelical Churches of Puerto Rico. The assembly approved the board of directors' recommendation that more consideration be given to the new document by all the denominations and organizations affected. That recommendation was inspired by the protest of a group of Baptist workers, who asked Baptists to make their objection known dramatically by staying away from the assembly. When it is judged that sufficient time has been given to study of the proposed constitution, a special assembly will be called.

Association Guards Religious Freedom Principle

The Association of Evangelical Churches has been alert to protect the principles of freedom of worship and separation of church and state as written into the constitution of the commonwealth of Puerto Rico. In response to its protests, action was taken against noisy taverns that disturb church services, and the minister of justice ordered the removal of gambling devices set up in front of Trujillo Alto Baptist Church during celebration of the anniversary of a patron saint. Protests have been filed against the National Guard's practice of holding its training and exercise periods on Sunday mornings and of maintaining but one chaplain, a Roman Catholic, and against the proposed sale to the Roman Catholic Church of valuable property in downtown Santurce at but a fraction of its value. The executive secretary of the association has started a courageous campaign against prostitution in San Juan. At the same time, military officials have united with municipal, state and civic groups to try to solve the problem of prostitution, which is recognized as a menace to the island's health and morality.

Nationalist Party Leader Attacks Churchmen

Albizu Campos, leader of the outlawed Nationalist party who has now been pardoned, has directed strong words against two of the association's churchmen following publication by Rev. Benjamin Santana of an article describing his visit to Campos in his cell during his imprisonment. In what amounted to a refutation of the Nationalists' effort to smear the present governor by alleging that inhuman conditions prevailed in the jail, Santana wrote that Campos and other Nationalists enjoyed ample accommodations and good care. After the article appeared, Campos accused Santana and another churchman of being "high priests of falsehood." The outlawed Nationalist party has also launched an attack on Rev. Tomás Rico Soltero, who during spiritual visits to the prison converted Vidal Santiago, one of the jailed Nationalist leaders, and obtained his release on probation.

Rural Church Membership In Puerto Rico Grows

Reports from a progress survey made by the rural committee of the Association of Evangelical Churches reveal that while the island's rural population increased by only 1 per cent in the 1947-52 period, membership of rural Evangelical churches climbed by 14.4 per cent in the same period. While urban population was increasing by 58 per cent, membership of city churches grew 17.2 per cent. Achievement of a higher economic level and growth in a sense of stewardship are reflected in statistics which show that in that five-year period rural church offerings increased by 83.9 per cent, urban by 70 per cent. In 1952, offerings of $465,953 were given by 225 churches which received $156,184 from mission board subsidies. Total membership in full communion with the association's seven member churches was 28,105 in 1952.

And So Forth

The 60-voice interdenominational choir under the direction of Esther Plyler of Santurce is to make a concert tour of the Dominican Republic during the Christmas vacation. It will also give a concert in Santurce in December.

Recent visitors to Puerto Rico's churches: Alberto Rembao of the Committee on Cooperation in Latin America, Ruth Reynolds of the World Council of Christian Education, and Barney Morgan and L. Tribu of the Presbyterian, U.S.A., Board of National Missions. Robbins Barstow, director of the National Council of Churches' department of American congregations overseas, is to pay us a visit next month.

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Churchmen Meet Labor Viewpoint

Seminars Are Held in Cleveland During C.I.O. Convention—E. & R. Women Put Tithing Above Bazaars

CLEVELAND, Dec. 2.—Three groups of Protestant churchmen took advantage of the recent national C.I.O. convention here to become better acquainted with this labor organization and its leaders. Some 75 clerical and lay delegates from denominations and church councils participated in a seminar sponsored by the National Council of Churches' department of church and economic life, and also attended C.I.O. convention sessions. At the same time an interseminary conference was held under the auspices of the Religion and Labor Foundation. The churchmen's league, a lay organization affiliated with the Cleveland church federation, invited pastors of the city to hear an address on the church and labor by Dean Marshal L. Scott of the Presbyterian Institute of Industrial Relations at McCormick Theological Seminary, Chicago.

Victor Reuther Cites Common Aims

Addressing the N.C.C. seminar, Victor Reuther, assistant to his brother Walter, president of the C.I.O., declared that his organization is concerned with every issue facing Americans, not just with relations between management and labor. He asserted that its aim is to establish a just economic and moral order, and suggested that labor, agriculture, education and the church plan a program of common action. Noting that some leaders of these groups are being attacked as subversives, Reuther declared that no serious internal Communist threat can exist in a country where a strong democratic union organization thrives. John V. Riffe, executive vice-president of the C.I.O., urged ministers to encourage their members to participate in union activities. "With Christian men and women [in places of leadership], unions will be able to settle their differences with employers without bitterness and hatred," he said. Dr. Scott proposed that churches relate themselves to the needs of workers and seek to bring workers into the churches.

E. & R. Women Give Tithing Priority Over Bazaars

Substitution of tithing for suppers and bazaars as a method of raising money for their churches was favored by delegates to the third quadrennial convention of the Evangelical and Reformed Women's Guild held here recently. It was revealed that members of the guild have contributed $681,313 in "thank offerings" to the church during the past four years. Resolutions adopted by the delegates urged revision of the McCarran-Walter immigration act, took a stand for a nonsegregated church in a nonsegregated society, reaffirmed the denomination's stand against universal military training, declared support of the United Nations, and called for elimination of trade barriers. The women opposed special tax concessions for liquor interests and the sale of liquor in military camps. Among speakers at the four-day sessions were Pres. Benjamin E. Mays of Morehouse College, Mrs. Douglas Horton, Reginald Helfferich, executive of the Evangelical and Reformed commission on world service, Mrs. James D. Wyker, president of the National Council of Churches' department of United Church Women, and Mrs. E. Roy Corman, president of the guild. Mrs. Guy A. Benchoff of Woodstock, Va., was elected president for the next quadrennium.

Orthodox Groups Plan Training Centers

Two Orthodox churches at recent meetings here laid plans to establish training centers for their future leaders. The Sobor (council) of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church announced plans to raise funds for the denomination's first seminary in the United States. Previously, the youth convention of the Armenian Apostolic Orthodox Church voted to assist diocesan authorities in selection and training of church school teachers and candidates for the priesthood. Leaders have in mind establishment of a camp which would begin with the training of youth as religious teachers, but they look forward to eventual establishment of a regular seminary. The Ukrainian council met under the direction of Metropolitan John Teodorovich of Philadelphia at St. Vladimir's, where for the first time masses were said in English. During the Armenian youth convention the titular head of the organization, Archbishop Tiran Nersoyan of New York, conducted a

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liturgical service of his church at Trinity Episcopal Cathedral. The local Armenian congregation is planning to build a sanctuary of its own.

Sponsor Conference on Religious Books

The first religious book conference sponsored by the Cleveland church federation's new committee on worship and the arts drew overflow crowds. The four-day sessions were held at the Church of the Savior (Methodist). Among the author-speakers were Catherine Marshall, Frank Laubach, Mary Alice Jones and Glenn Clark. Local clerical and lay leaders gave a number of book reviews, and Dean Percy Rex of Trinity Episcopal Cathedral delivered the closing address on the discipline of Christian reading. Other features of the conference were discussion of the art of book reviewing, daily prayer laboratories and a book display. Earlier, the committee had joined the Cleveland chapter of the American Guild of Organists in sponsoring a conference on church music.

And So Forth

The Cleveland welfare federation is planning a drive for "infiltration" of teenage gangs as a means of reducing juvenile delinquency, reported as on the upgrade here. Trained leaders will attempt to contact youngsters where they are and lead them into constructive activities. It is said that there has been a 17 per cent increase in youth crime here recently. Schauffler College of Religious and Social Work has been offering a lecture series on juvenile delinquency.

The Cleveland Y.M.C.A. is seeking to raise $6,719,000 to construct 10 new branch buildings. Almost $2,500,000 has already been contributed in special gifts; the public campaign will get under way after the 100th anniversary in February.

Goodwill Industries of Cleveland is conducting a drive for funds to replace its present quarters, which will be torn down to make way for the city's inner belt freeway.

The 41 Lutheran Church—Missouri Synod congregations in Greater Cleveland are conducting a series of Sunday evening Bible forums Oct. 4-Dec. 20. The same "basic Bible truth" is discussed in all churches on a single night.

The Erie council of churches organized laymen in each church to check the membership list against lists of registered voters in a campaign to get all church members to vote in the November election.

John L. O'Hear, rector of St. Paul's Episcopal Church, Cleveland Heights, has been given an eight-month leave of absence to serve as interim rector of the American Church in Geneva, Switzerland, starting after Feb. 1.

Peter W. Macaulay, for the past 26 years minister of Miles Park Presbyterian Church, has resigned his pastorate to become Protestant chaplain at Cleveland State hospital, which he has previously served on a part-time basis.

Hollis Hayward, for six years director of the united Christian fellowship at Bowling Green State University, Bowling Green, Ohio, is the new coordinator of religious activities and general secretary of the campus Y.M.C.A. at Louisiana State University. Hayward is a Methodist minister.

WALTER E. DANIELS.

Laubach Urges 'Easy' Writings

Literacy Expert Calls for Production of Simpler Materials to Supply Needs of World's New Readers

SYRACUSE, N. Y., Nov. 24.—Speaking recently in Rochester, Frank C. Laubach, world literacy expert, described the backward peoples of the world as "education-mad." "They know the reason they are as they are is because they are ignorant, and they desperately want to learn," he said. "One of the greatest problems is to provide reading material for the millions who have learned to read. In Asia, for instance, nothing which is easy, simple and good enough for the people is being written. A major reason is that almost nobody knows how to write for such people; authors have only learned how to write for intellectuals." Dr. Laubach urged that millions of dollars be invested in producing the kind of literature needed. He predicted the investment will pay dividends when the economic status of the people is improved so they can buy books and newspapers. For the present, however, the material must be sold without profit. Dr. Laubach's son, Robert, is on the faculty of the Syracuse University school of journalism, where he is teaching a course on preparing materials for adults who are beginning to learn to read.

Urges Youth Agencies to 'Go to the Streets'

Social workers attending the 54th annual meeting of the New York state welfare conference in Buffalo were told that they must become more aggressive if they wish to solve the problem of juvenile delinquency. Ralph W. Whelan, executive director of the New York city youth board, said that members of his staff have found they can work more effectively with juvenile gangs by associating with them on street corners and in pool rooms and candy stores. There they can make friends with the boys, get to know the gang leaders and gain their confidence, and so can eventually redirect the gang's activities. He believes that youth agencies must revise their group work methods to take their service to the antisocial street clubs and other groups that are hard to reach.

Students Protest 'Blanket' Ban on Fraternities

Students at Buffalo State Teachers College by a vote of 525 to 16 recently protested the blanket ruling of the trustees of the State University of New York which banned national affiliation for campus fraternities and sororities. The students' statement pointed out that the ruling was unfair to societies whose national organizations do not discriminate against race, color or creed. At Syracuse University the interfraternity council three years ago answered critics of the fraternity system by organizing a social action committee to be responsible for participation in community projects that could use volunteer service. This year the committee has agreed to provide 1,000 work hours to hospitals,

orphanages, and homes for retarded children and for the aged.

Commend Stand for Interfaith Equality at Public Hospital

The ministerial association of St. Lawrence county has adopted a resolution commending the ministers' association of Ogdensburg for its statement requesting interfaith equality in administration of the A. Barton Hepburn hospital at Ogdensburg. The ministers asserted that there is no reason why a public hospital cannot be administered by persons of one particular religious faith so long as such persons honor and permit the full exercise of the religious faith and practice of other groups within the area. "When this ceases to be the case, such a hospital would cease to be a public institution and should thereby be supported as a religious institution," says the statement.

Commends Cooperation of Missionaries, Technicians

High praise was given to missionaries in Iran and to Americans working in that country on the Point IV program by Mrs. Lincoln D. Kelsey when she addressed a meeting of a state council of churches group in Rochester after returning from a six-month trip to Iran. She accompanied her husband, Dr. Lincoln D. Kelsey of Cornell Agricultural College, who went to Iran to set up a government extension service for agricultural workers and to train 200 native leaders. Mrs. Kelsey said there was never a moment when she felt ashamed of any of the Americans she met, and that a fine spirit of cooperation between missionaries, Point IV people and native officials is evident.

And So Forth

Tentative plans for development of a new $10 million campus for Harpur College, now at Endicott, have been approved by the trustees of the State University of New York. The architect's plans call for moving the college to the near-by town of Vestal, where a 350-acre tract has been acquired. Harpur is the only liberal arts college in the state university group.

The St. George Society in Syracuse, an organization of Protestants employed in public service, has sponsored the formation of a Florence Nightingale chapter for Protestant nurses. The group is concerned to provide nurses with opportunities for worship and with programs that will lead them to a better understanding of the Christian faith.

Keuka College has announced that it will not continue its summer theater in 1954 because of rising costs, falling revenue, and the extra burden placed on the college officials.

Arthur J. Ruland, Binghamton lawyer, has been elected president of the united churches of Broome county to succeed Harold J. Gamble, pastor of Conklin Avenue Baptist Church, who has accepted a call to First Baptist Church, South Bend, Ind.

WALTER D. CAVERT.

Denver Methodist Congregation Campaigns for Peace

Lay people in Emmanuel Methodist Church, Denver, have organized a study program which is evolving into a community-wide campaign to "do something practical for peace." Under the leadership of a dozen concerned lay men and women, study groups spent a year considering issues pertinent to world peace. Then a month-long "peace quest" was organized, with regular sermons dealing with the theme, special speakers presenting it to major groups in the church, a series of neighborhood "survival meetings" conducted, literature circulated and letter-writing campaigns organized. The program is continuing on the same lines. Bishop Glenn R. Phillips of the Denver Methodist area has declared that no other congregation in his area is carrying forward such an "aggressive and forward-looking" peace education program as is Emmanuel.

The Church Roll

For the seventh successive season, Francis C. Stifler, public relations secretary of the American Bible Society, is speaking on the Bible on the Mutual Broadcasting Co.'s "Faith in Our Time" program Dec. 7 through Jan. 25. The broadcast is heard Monday through Friday at 10:15 a.m. eastern standard time.

Announcement of four assistants to carry on the work of public relations for the World Council of Churches' Assembly next August has been made by Charles Parlin, chairman of press and broadcasting for the Assembly. They are Ralph Stoody of Methodist Information Service (secular press), James Kennedy of the Protestant Episcopal Church's department of ecumenical relations (broadcasting), Erik Modean of the National Lutheran Council news bureau (Assembly reporting), and William B. Lipphard of Associated Church Press (church press). Alton M. Motter of Chicago has joined the World Council staff as executive assistant to Mr. Parlin.

Chancellor Minoru Toyoda of Aoyama Gakuin, 80-year-old Methodist college in Tokyo, is spending six months in the United States studying American Christian schools.

Jesse M. Bader will retire Dec. 31 as executive director of the National Council of Churches' joint department of evangelism. He has headed the department since organization of the National Council in 1950, and before that spent 19 years as director of evangelism for the Federal Council. Dr. Bader plans to give full-time service after Jan. 1 to the World Convention of Churches of Christ (Disciple).

Recent deaths in the field of religion: Jerome O. Williams, secretary of the Southern Baptist Sunday School Board's division of education and promotion, in Nashville, Nov. 26, at the age of 68. . . . H. Hugh Bousman, for 28 years a Presbyterian, U.S.A., missionary in China and the Philippines, in Manila, on Nov. 26, at the age of 59. Dr. Bousman and his wife were on their way to take up pioneer missionary work in Indonesia, after spending a furlough in the United States. . . . Ernest William Barnes, formerly Anglican bishop of Birmingham, England, on Nov. 29, at the age of 79. Dr. Barnes, who resigned his post last May because of ill health, was frequently a storm center of religious controversy because of his unorthodox views on such subjects as miracles, the virgin birth, euthanasia and war.

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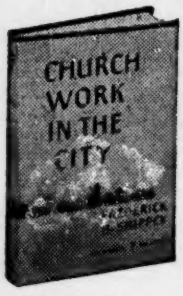

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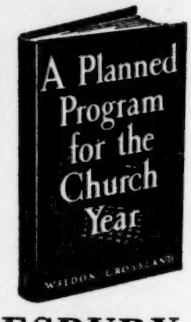

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